PRINCIPLES OF

SECONDARY EDUCATION

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SECOND EDITION

TO

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Preface to the Second Edition

There has been a deep-seated conviction on the part of those responsible for the induction of the neophyte into the field of secondary education that the prospective educator should become fully aware of the nature of this institution of which he is to become so much a part. Consequently, students in training have been introduced quite generally to a course designed to acquaint them with the nature of the secondary school. This course has been variously labeled: Secondary Education, The Secondary School, American High School, or Principles of Secondary Education. The latter title, more than any other, seems to have implied more fully and consistently the fundamental nature of this course.

For two decades the author has been engaged in the induction of youth into a beginning course in secondary education. He, with many of his colleagues, has had a growing conviction that this course provided a most welcome opportunity to insure to the novice a fundamental appreciation of the unique and important task of secondary education in our democratic society and to create a consciousness of professional pride in the American secondary school.

While the basic guiding philosophy of our schools as the educative agency of our democratic society remains unchanged, local and world conditions in the aftermath of the war indicate some slight though oblique shifts in the direction of change of the institutional aspects of education. Likewise the constructive suggestions that have come from many users of the text, as well as the further experience of the author in its use, appear to offer possibilities for the improvement of the book both for the individual teacher and for classroom use.

It is the earnest hope of the author that this revised edition, enlarged, reorganized, and brought up-to-date, will prove to be as popular and even more serviceable than the original text.

<div style="text-align: right">Nelson L. Bossing</div>

PART I

Introduction

PART I

Introduction

CHAPTER I

What Criticisms Are Frequently Made of the Secondary School?

Criticism of our schools, particularly of the secondary schools, is a favorite indoor pastime. In books, magazines, and newspapers the school is held up to ridicule and scorn. From a full-dress book critique, such as H. E. Buchholz' *Fads and Fallacies in Present-Day Education*, Bernard I. Bell's *Crisis in Education*, or Arthur E. Bestor's *Educational Wastelands*, to more frequent but less pretentious satires in periodicals, such as A. L. Crockett's widely read article, *Lollipops versus Learning* and Irene C. Kuhn's *Your Child Is Their Target*, the schools are the target of the critics. The screen, the radio, the theater, and the public platform, as well as the press, are media for the complaints of critics of the schools.

These criticisms cover the whole field of education. Many are contradictory: some insist that our schools are too academic and too far removed from the everyday problems of life; others stoutly maintain that our schools have not focused attention upon the time-honored fundamentals, have become lost in emphasis on trivialities, and have not maintained high enough standards. Some supporters of vocational education insist that the secondary school is devoting too little time to trade training that prepares the student to earn a living. Another group deplores an overemphasis upon narrow "bread-and-butter" education to the gross neglect, in their eyes, of the need for general education for citizenship.

Students in teacher training classes have assembled and roughly

3

classified the criticisms listed in the following pages as representative of some of the most common criticisms of the school.[1]

Nature of criticisms

Criticisms of the curriculum. There is a lack of emphasis upon trade and vocational training.

The work of the school is not sufficiently related to contemporary life.

The schools should teach the time-honored subjects and not try to dabble in current political-economic-social issues.

Secondary schools do not emphasize an understanding of aesthetics sufficiently.

The high school gives inadequate preparation for students going on to college.

Small schools place too much emphasis on college preparatory courses.

High schools have too many frills and useless courses, and too many impractical subjects.

There is an inadequate choice of subjects in most high schools.

The high school offers too few how-to-study courses.

Not enough "critical thinking" is required in high school.

Too little emphasis is placed upon creative thinking and expression.

The opportunities in small high schools for specialized fields such as music and art are inadequate.

All students are required to do the same amount of work.

The curriculum of the high school is influenced too much by pressure groups.

Examinations do not test what they are supposed to test.

There is an overemphasis upon speed in high school.

Schools fail to care for failing students properly.

There is too little attention given to health in the high school.

[1] It has been the practice of the writer to begin his class in the principles of secondary education by suggesting that the students try to collect all the criticisms they have heard, have read, or have made themselves. It has been found salutary to have students face frankly the many criticisms hurled at education while they are at the threshold of their professional education. The attempt to determine the validity of the criticisms has become both the springboard and the mainspring of the course.

The schools use too many outmoded textbooks.

History courses have been limited to detail rather than to generalizations, causations, and relationships.

Schools do not develop leadership abilities.

There is too little individualization of materials and method.

There is little sex education and preparation for marriage.

Teachers. There are too many poorly trained teachers.

Too many teachers use antiquated methods.

Teachers stay in one place too long.

There is too much mobility on the part of teachers.

Too many ancient teachers are in the profession.

There are too many young teachers in the profession.

There are many teachers with physical disabilities—deafness, poor vision, extreme nervousness, ill health.

Teachers place too much emphasis upon grades.

There is a lack of uniformity in grades and standards set by different teachers.

Teachers are socially and emotionally maladjusted.

Teachers do not give enough attention to community and home environment of students.

Too many teachers are not professionally minded.

Teachers tend to fossilize on the job.

Teachers take too *little* part in community affairs.

Teachers' salaries are too high.

Teachers' salaries are too low.

Teachers are often unsympathetic to extracurricular activities.

Too many women and too few men teachers are in high schools.

Teacher-pupil relations. Too many teachers do not understand the students.

Many teachers play favorites.

Democracy is not allowed to function in the classroom.

Teachers often show no personal interest in students.

Teacher and pupil relations are often antagonistic.

Teachers often hold grudges against students.

Teachers are not fair in disciplining students.

Teachers are too sarcastic with students.

Teachers tend to treat students like children.

Organization and administration. Students have too little choice in
selecting courses.

The administration is too autocratic in its attitudes and methods.

There is little opportunity for student participation in school
planning and government.

The average school has an inadequate guidance program.

Overcrowding of classes is common.

High school students are dominated by the faculty.

Students are not allowed to express themselves freely in the
school paper.

The teachers are overworked.

The teachers are not allowed time to see students out of class.

The grading system is outmoded.

Athletics are overemphasized.

School procedures tend to encourage dishonesty.

Students are given too much freedom and not enough old-
fashioned discipline.

Student activities are not properly supervised.

There is a lack of coordination between the elementary and sec-
ondary schools.

We have too many small schools.

Schools are inadequately staffed/overstaffed.

Too often there is a lack of cooperation between departments in
the school.

Buildings and equipment. In most schools the school buildings are
inadequate and improperly planned for desirable modern educa-
tional programs.

Inadequate library facilities predominate.

Luncheon facilities are generally inadequate.

The quality and quantity of equipment in classrooms, shops,
laboratories, and playgrounds handicap good education.

Schools have little up-to-date audio-visual equipment.

School buildings often have unhygienic sanitation, lighting, venti-
lation, and heating.

Community and state. The teacher's personal life is subject to too
much community supervision.

Our school board system provides very poor leadership for the
schools.

Schools suffer from too much/too little parental contact.

School funds are inadequate and unequally distributed.

Too much money is being spent on our schools.

There is too much/too little state control over schools.

America should not attempt to provide free secondary education.

This list of criticisms assembled by progressive teachers suggests the range and nature of the adverse and conflicting comment leveled at the school. These criticisms, although formidable in extent, are neither complete nor inclusive. They can readily be grouped in a few major categories.

1. The function and purposes of the secondary school.
2. The adequacy of the curriculum offerings.
3. The competency of the teaching staff.
4. The emphasis given in the school program.
5. Pupil-teacher-administrator relationships.
6. School-community relationships.
7. Administrative problems of the school.
8. Organizational problems of the school.
9. Financial problems.
10. Local-state administrative relationships.

It is interesting to compare this extended contemporary list with a summary of the major criticisms current around 1920:

1. The course of study is almost exclusively academic.
2. Many of the pupils, particularly boys, are sent from the school as failures "who either could not or would not apply themselves to a curriculum consisting mainly of memorizing textbooks."
3. The curriculum has failed to enlist the interest of motor minded pupils because its relation to their lives is uncertain and remote.
4. Stress is laid on individualistic development, not on training for social betterment.
5. Student mortality is excessive and inexcusable.
6. Students who spend only a year or two in the school often have no superiority in efficiency in the practical affairs of life over the grammar school graduate.
7. The boy who enters practical life after completing the high school course finds that his four years have given him little that is useful.
8. The culture acquired in high school is too often a haze which evaporates in thin air.
9. Almost all the high school graduate really has is a residuum of mental discipline which, at its best, functions in a habitual persistence.

10. Habits detrimental to both culture and discipline are often formed.

11. The boy who goes to college seems to be the only one that the course of study really helps, and it is questionable whether either he or the community profits by the expensive gift bestowed upon him.

12. If the service of the school to the boys is vague and uncertain, its practical value for most girls approaches absolute zero.

13. Ideals of "getting by" dominate in altogether too many schools.

14. Snobbery in the schools has become a common trait.[2]

The stranger to our American school system might well be dismayed by all these complaints against the secondary school. The prospective teacher who has so recently emerged from the portals of this school can appreciate the nature of these criticisms better. There are, however, significant differences in these two lists which should not escape the student.

Our main concern with these criticisms is to determine their source, their merits, and what can and should be done to remove the causes that give rise to them.

Who are the critics?

Parents. Among the most consistent, but most friendly, critics of the school must be listed the parents of the students. Two standards in particular govern the nature of the parental criticism of the school. The first is derived from the ambition of the typical parent that his child have the best possible educational advantages. The second is the measure of similarity between the program the school is offering the child and what was available to the parents, or what the parents think was available, in their day; unfortunately, it is a general tendency for adults to idealize the education they experienced.

Worshipers of tradition. This group finds its principal values in the past. Since they believe that wisdom resides largely in the old, the education of an older generation is considered superior to that of the present. Critics from this group are continually lamenting the

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[2] C. O. Davis, *Our Evolving High School Curriculum.* Yonkers: World Book Company, 1927, pp. 49-50. This is a summarization of the criticisms discussed in Chapter I of W. D. Lewis, *Democracy's High School.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

shortcomings of modern education. As contemporary education departs farther from the traditional pattern, the volume and range of criticism increase. With genuine alarm these worshipers of tradition view what is to them the tendency to substitute the untried and the ephemeral for the real substance of an education. They do not accept as applicable to education the truth of the poet's injunction "Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key."

Partisans of higher education. Historically the secondary school has been considered a feeder for the college or university. Naturally the colleges and universities have watched jealously any departure of the secondary school from the one task of preparing youth for successful admission to these institutions. As the secondary school serves an ever-increasing proportion of our American youth and, as a result, broadens its program to serve wider interests, the higher institutions of learning have become more voluble about the relationship of the secondary school to the colleges. These institutions *have been anxious that the secondary school keep the curriculum adjusted to their entrance requirements, and are almost equally concerned that the methods and spirit of the school approximate those of the colleges and universities.*

Employers. Many criticisms of the secondary school come from employers who have experienced difficulty with youths employed as clerks, as stenographers, and in similar tasks. These employers are especially critical of the inability of these youths to spell correctly and to do simple arithmetic properly. They charge further *that all too many youths who seek employment take no pride in accuracy or neatness of work and tend to be careless and indifferent to responsibility.* These and other avowed shortcomings of youth in the business world are laid at the door of the modern secondary school.

Vested interests. This segment of the critics consists of those who have "axes to grind" at the expense of the schools. One group has selfish interests which it wants the schools to promote. It may be that the members of this group have textbooks, materials, or equipment they want the schools to use, or ideas to be adopted which will be of personal benefit to the promoters. The other group is critical of the activities of the school that thwart its selfish interests.

Taxpayers. In almost every community there are those who feel the cost of education is burdensome. The school represents the largest single item on the local tax bill. In some communities it amounts to 60 to 80 per cent, or even more, of the local tax. The major crescendo of public criticism on the cost of the schools, however, usually emanates from Tax Leagues and Realty Boards, organizations that represent the very large taxpayers or business interests of the community. The secondary school has been the favorite target of this group.

Doctrinaires. This group represents the "special pleaders." They usually have no ulterior motives but have deep convictions that certain ideologies should be promoted by the school. Sometimes the criticisms are directed at what is taught in the schools, but more often the schools are criticized for their omissions. Among some of the more persistent of these ideological criticisms are those centering upon the absence of or underemphasis on some sort of patriotism, economic-political theories, certain notions of health, or religious instruction.

Youth in school. Not the least prominent of the critics, in either volume or effectiveness, are the youths who are in or have just emerged from the secondary school. Their reactions for and against are significant for several reasons: their judgments, derived from personal experiences and observations, are often keenly discerning. It is natural for the judgments of students about the school, its program, its staff, or its effectiveness to be accepted by parents, and to a lesser extent by the community. It should not be forgotten that whether they are true or false, these judgments influence tremendously the attitudes of the students as adults toward the school.

Intelligent laymen and educators. To characterize a large section of the criticisms as the product of intelligent laymen and educators is to imply that many criticisms are the expressions of a body of citizens whose comments, whether honest or influenced by personal interest, are not the result of careful, judicious thinking. Certainly, all agree that criticisms *per se* do not have equal merit. The criticisms of the wide-awake, civic-minded citizens and educational leaders who have given most serious thought to educational problems are about as numerous as those from the less qualified. These criticisms should carry most weight and be considered as the most valid.

How valid are these criticisms?

In deciding how representative these criticisms are and how much they reflect the opinions of special groups, we are aided somewhat by our classification of their sources. It is relatively easy to pick out the major items that reflect the views of special groups. A few examples should stimulate the reader to examine carefully all criticisms with which he comes in contact to determine their representative character.

The criticism, "The high school gives inadequate preparation for those going on to college," comes from the limited group of those interested in college education. It is estimated that approximately twenty-five per cent of our youth go to college. It is not likely a large proportion of either the college-bound students or their parents would raise this issue. On the other hand, the criticism, "The small high school places too much emphasis upon college preparatory courses," probably represents a large group of critics. Traditionally the high school has prepared American youth for college. The struggle to make the school reflect the needs of the large mass of youth not going to college has been a continuous and major one for almost two centuries.

Another criticism, "Free public secondary education should not be offered to American youth," obviously comes from a small group that opposes this unique American practice on the ground of unjustifiable expense. Those taxpayers who find it more economical to pay tuition for a few years to send their children to secondary school rather than to pay a larger, continuous tax for all children are the most probable critics of free secondary education for all. The rank-and-file citizen who aspires to every educational advantage for his children will naturally clamor for more rather than less free secondary education.

How significant are these criticisms?

To what extent can we identify criticisms as representative of the attitudes of the general public—public-spirited and educationally informed—as against patently selfish special interest groups? Although this should be a general principle to guide our judgments, it cannot be accepted without qualification. Very often the best friends of a cause develop so-called "blind spots"—they do not see all the picture. Often we can learn much from our unfriendly critics.

From our background of experiences with the school and its program we can pass readily enough on some criticisms. Other objections will require the answer to many so-called "previous questions" before a sure answer can be given. It would be a stimulating exercise to try to single out all the criticisms that we could accept as definitely revealing a weakness in our present secondary school. It would sharpen our thinking also if we were to identify the problems for which we do not, at this stage in our experience, have sufficient data to assure accurate judgment. We must consider many aspects of education before we can reach a final decision on the merits of many of the criticisms listed.

Few would assume that problems and issues in secondary education do not exist. Where criticisms tend to contradict each other, one may suspect an issue involving educational policy or even a basic one of educational philosophy. The criticisms that our secondary schools do not properly prepare youth for college and that too much attention is given to college preparatory courses suggest a probable issue. The implication is that the two criticisms represent divergent points of view on the purpose and function of secondary education in America. Certainly the acceptance or rejection of either criticism must be based upon a primary consideration of what should be the purposes and functions of public secondary education in a democratic society.

The critical assertion that "free public secondary education should not be offered to American youth" states a fundamental issue. Most of us have become so accustomed to the tuition-free public secondary school that it does not seem possible that it could be an issue. Even though the criticism represents a small minority of the public, it challenges a practice based upon an opposing conception of the purpose and function of secondary education in America. This criticism is used here as an example of a type, because most readers would cast it aside on the assumption that the practice of providing free secondary education was a settled policy of the American people. To all intents and purposes the issue, a burning one over a century ago, has been settled as a policy of this country. The settlement of the legal aspects of the question with the famous Kalamazoo Case in 1874, which gave the community the right to tax itself for the support of free public secondary education, seemed definitive. Yet a minority group was powerful enough during the

stress of the depression period of the early 1930's to have a State Chamber of Commerce go on record against the continuance of free public secondary education. Even within this decade the press reported that a state governor, in a public address, asserted his opposition to free public secondary education.

Again, a criticism may represent simply the presence of a problem for which no real issue exists. The criticism that "many teachers play favorites in school" presents a problem to the school but not an issue. All agree that favoritism has no place in the school or classroom. It is simply a problem of correcting the difficulty. On the other hand, the criticism that "teachers are poorly prepared to teach" may or may not present an issue. It is not an issue if all are agreed on the nature of the poor preparation of the teachers and on the general methods by which the shortcomings in their preparation may be corrected. A real issue is raised, however, when there is disagreement on the nature of the poor preparation of teachers and the proposed remedies. Different schools of educational thought have widely divergent notions of the nature of the weaknesses to be found in teacher preparation and even greater differences in their ideas of what should be done about them.

What should be done about these criticisms?

It may be well for the prospective teacher to examine carefully all criticisms that may come to his attention. Such examination will pay dividends in broad understanding of our secondary school, in its purposes, functions, and problems, and its significance in our American democratic society. As has been shown, some criticisms imply vital issues of policy or educational philosophy and others are just sporadic efforts of small groups to resurrect issues long since settled. A rigorous study of the issues could be one of the most fruitful means of giving to the new teacher a thorough insight into the nature of the secondary school and his professional task in it.

For the veteran as well as for the neophyte in education it is well to treat all criticisms of the school with respect. A frequent examination of current criticisms will tend to keep us conscious of the *raison d'être* of our schools. It will also make us sensitive to emerging faults in our professional activities. It should not be forgotten that, in an evolving society, frequent re-examination of our program *is desirable, is a sign of internal health, and is an absolute necessity*

if we are to serve the needs of youth and our democracy most effectively.

Questions and Problems

1. Read twenty to thirty magazine articles that are critical of our public schools, with particular attention given to the American secondary school. Analyze and list the different kinds of criticism offered.

2. What evidence can you find that criticisms tend to cancel each other out by being diametrically opposed to each other?

3. Does or does not the critic reveal a bias that may throw doubt upon the validity of the criticism he offers?

4. Through the use of a panel or class discussion try to determine which criticisms are: (1) probably without foundation; (2) probably true and justified; (3) probably true, although circumstances prevent ready remedy; (4) based on data that are either not available or not sufficient to justify a judgment of the merits of the criticism.

5. What additions can the class make to the list of criticisms of the secondary school given in this chapter?

6. What notable differences can you detect between the list of modern criticisms and the list presented approximately half a century earlier by Davis? How do you account for these differences?

7. (An individual or class project.) Which of the criticisms offered in the list given by the author may be regarded as invalid? Why?

8. Using the list of criticisms formulated in problem 1, try to determine what current issues or problems in education are revealed.

9. How can the prospective teacher make use of current criticisms of the secondary school? How can the teacher in a regular teaching situation make use of such criticism?

10. Make a list of the major critics of the schools, and have individual students report on the critics and the groups they represent. What motives seem to dominate their activities?

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PART II

Development in America

groups, educated and technically or professionally trained but poor and destitute individuals, and children and youth. Later, the introduction of slavery accentuated the class-consciousness of the colonists.

The religious and aristocratic background of these Anglican colonists plus the environment of plantation life left these early colonist leaders with no consuming zeal for education except for the privileged group. The bitter opposition to any energetic scheme of education for the masses of the Southern colonies is typified by the hatred and fear of education for the common man expressed by William Berkeley, the royal Governor of Virginia. In his famous answer to the authorities in England in 1671 who sought to learn what was being done educationally in Virginia, he declared:

> The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children . . . . But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both! [1]

Virginia and the Southern colonies represented the *laissez-faire* attitude toward education in America that it has taken so long to overcome. These colonies were not alone in their attitude; they clearly exemplified the educational and social outlook of the Anglican church. The influence of the Church of England was felt farther north in the educational activities particularly of New York and Maryland. As a result, the apprentice style of education typified the practical emphasis on education for the masses in these colonies. The same attitude, in a modified degree, was shown toward secondary education for the aristocratic classes. The tutorial type of education was as popular as the establishment of Latin grammar schools for boys of the more favored classes.

The middle colonies, of which Pennsylvania and New Jersey are the best representatives, were settled by different religious groups, most of whom believed firmly in education. Quakers, German and Swedish Lutherans, Dutch Calvinists, Scotch Presbyterians, and English Baptists and Methodists were among the principal Protes-

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[1] William W. Henning, *Laws and Statutes of Virginia*, Vol. 2. Richmond, Virginia: Samuel Pleasants, Jr., 1660-1682, p. 517.

tant groups who settled this region. The Catholics had a small settlement in Maryland. The Protestant sects brought with them the conviction that everyone needed to read the Bible as a basis of nurturing his personal religious development. The presence of so many sectarian groups of divergent and positive religious convictions made anything like a state system of education impractical. Education, in consequence, became the responsibility of the several church groups. Out of this situation has come the legacy of parochialism as opposed to a state system in American education. The emphasis upon political freedom coupled with religious freedom was strong among these groups who had sought asylum in America from their persecutions in European countries. All this tended to make these people cautious of any schemes of education that seemed to threaten their cherished freedom. As a result, the maintenance of schools was burdensome for local communities, and, in time, interest waned in the midst of the rigors of early colonial life. The result was that the middle colonies tended to support the *laissez-faire* attitude of the South toward education *although for a different set of reasons*.

The English Calvinist Puritans were predominant in New England. They came to America in search of both political and religious freedom. Religious freedom was their most absorbing interest. Because they made up the overwhelming majority of the population of New England and were most aggressive in furthering their political and religious ideas, they have made the greater contribution to the development of education in America. Foremost among their contributions was an uncompromising belief in the primacy of education. They alone of the colonial groups gave explicit recognition to the responsibility of the state for the support and control of education. They advanced with clarity the principle that the state had an obligation to provide all children and youths free educational *opportunity through the secondary school*. To this they added the companion principle that the state had the right to require children to take advantage of the educational opportunities provided them by the state. These principles were inherent in the Massachusetts Laws of 1642 and 1647. Thus, to New England, we acknowledge our debt for those two fundamental principles which have become the foundation stones of the present American system of tax-supported, free, public elementary and secondary education.

What was early colonial secondary education like?

At least three types of education for adolescents were found in early colonial times. The most extensively practiced of these was that known as apprenticeship training. Throughout the colonies during the seventeenth century it was the custom for boys and girls of homes of modest means or less to be bound out to some master for a period of years to learn a vocation. Where parents were financially able to support their children and to provide formal schooling for them, the children were exempt from the requirements of apprenticeship training. Either the youth, his parents, or his guardians selected some trade or vocation for him, then entered into a contract with a master who agreed to teach the youth the knowledge and skills of the chosen trade over a period of years. Local town officials assumed responsibility for the proper apprenticing of orphans or children of indigent parents. A formal agreement known as an Indenture of Apprenticeship was signed, and masters were required to have this properly recorded with the local town officials. Court approval also was necessary where apprenticeship was compulsory, as it was for orphans and children of poor parents.

The usual period of apprenticeship training was seven years. There was some variation in the length of service required among the different colonies; moreover, youths apprenticed at an early age usually served a longer apprenticeship than those apprenticed later. In general it was expected, if not required by law, that boys would remain apprenticed until twenty-one and girls until eighteen.

The master, on his part, was required to provide the youth a home, food, and clothing and to see that he acquired competency in the trade or vocation for which he had been apprenticed. In addition, most apprentice indentures specified that the youth should be taught to read and write as well as be given religious instruction. When the term of service was completed, certain clothing and money were to be provided by the master as a farewell token. In some instances the monetary considerations of the indenture specified certain wages for the latter period of the apprenticeship service. Benjamin Franklin, in his interesting account of his apprenticeship, relates that the indentures to learn the printing business that he

voluntarily signed when he was twelve required that he serve until he was twenty-one years of age. The last year of service he was to receive regular journeyman's wages.[2] The terms of some indentures on record reveal that occasionally parents of the apprenticed youth were reimbursed by the master for the labor advantages the apprentice brought with his indenture.

The laws and practices governing apprenticeship training among the colonies were not uniform although they were, in general, quite similar. Their similarities grew out of the common heritage of the early colonists. The apprenticeship system had been in existence in Europe for many generations as an accepted method of trade and vocational education. For almost a century before the first settlements in America, England had, through the Statute of Artificers in 1562, provided national and uniform legislation to govern the practice of apprenticeship training.

The differences in practices among the colonies stemmed in part from the European home background of the colonists, the nature and purposes of the various colonial groups, and the general climatic and living environment provided by different sections of the Atlantic seaboard. The Southern colonies with large plantations, such as Virginia, made the establishment of schools for youth difficult. Besides, the people who settled this portion of America were not possessed of strong convictions that education for the masses was necessary or even desirable. Here the apprentice type of education became the principal form of educational opportunity open to most laborers.

The New England settlers, on the contrary, had a deep conviction of the worth of education. Their belief in the importance of being able to read and understand the Bible as a means of personal religious guidance gave incentive to the establishment of schools. The superior educational background of these immigrants who came to America for religious and political freedom gave additional impetus to education. The rugged nature of the country, which made settlement in communities necessary and simplified the problem of education in large groups, possibly encouraged the es-

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[2] For an interesting sidelight on the apprenticeship system read Franklin's account of his experiences. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings.* New York: The Viking Press, 1945.

tablishment of schools to supplement apprentice education. Even so, apprentice education flourished from the beginning in New England. The Massachusetts Law of 1642 was inspired largely by "the great neglect in many parents and masters in training up their children in learning and labor and other employments which may be profitable to the commonwealth." The law directed the apprenticing of "the children of such as they [the commonwealth] shall find not to be able and fit to employ and bring them up."

In New England and the middle colonies, where the early immigrants tended to group in towns or large settlements, the people tended to depend less and less upon apprenticeship training to provide education. Evening schools were frequently set up to teach reading, writing, and religion to apprentices. Greater dependence was placed upon day schools for children's training in the three R's, and apprentice training emphasized the vocational aspect.

Another form of education popular in the colonial period was tutorial instruction. This was particularly prevalent in Virginia and in the Southern colonies among the plantation owners and the well-to-do. It was available to both children and young people. Apprentice training in the South was largely restricted to the poor or lower classes; those of financial means, the so-called upper class, employed tutors. It was customary for the upper classes of the South to be prepared for college by tutors, although there were some schools in the South that prepared young men to enter college.

The most famous of the secondary education available in the early colonial period was the Latin grammar school. It flourished particularly in New England. Grizzell gives a list of more than 40 Latin grammar schools that had been founded prior to 1700 throughout New England.[3] Approximately half of these were to be found in Massachusetts. Latin grammar schools were to be found also in the middle and Southern colonies with the exception of Georgia.[4] Since education was a subject of the first importance in New England and regarded in the South with much less veneration, it is not surprising to find the Latin grammar schools much less frequent in the South.

What was the significance of the "Old Deluder" Law of 1647?

The spectacular development of education in New England, particularly the popular growth of the Latin grammar school, was not accidental. It reflected the enthusiasm of the people for education as dramatized in the now well-known Massachusetts laws of 1642 and 1647. The Act of 1642 simply took cognizance of the laxity that existed among parents and masters of apprentices in teaching children and youths under them the rudiments of learning and proper trade competence, as well as "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." The officials of the towns were directed systematically to check the effectiveness with which parents and masters discharged their educational obligations. Penalties were to be imposed where neglect was found. The courts, in turn, were responsible for the enforcement of the law by the local town officials. This Law of 1642 is notable in that *it is the first time among English-speaking peoples that such a governmental body had ever required universal education of its children.*

The law proved hard to enforce. Supervision of the quality of education offered in widely scattered homes was laborious and difficult. The educational results were unsatisfactory.

Five years later the General Court of Massachusetts passed the now justly famous Law of 1647, known as the "Old Deluder" law. The preamble presents clearly the basic values of education in the minds of the Puritans, values that gave rise to the drastic provisions of this law, which created an educational system in the New World never before paralleled in history. In a real sense this law, with the Act of 1642, laid the basis for our present public school system. The Law of 1647 reads:

> It being one chief point of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at last the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,—
>
> It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after

the Lord hath increased them to the number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided, those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns; and it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University, provided, that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay 5 pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order.

Here the state of Massachusetts set up our first system of public elementary and secondary schools. For our purposes interest centers on those aspects of the law which made secondary schools a recognized public responsibility, and differentiated from an equally recognized system of elementary schools. Elementary education had as its primary function, under this law, teaching all children to read and write. The secondary (grammar school) had the distinct responsibility of preparing all who wished for entrance to the University.

The influence of the Law of 1647 spread beyond the original borders of Massachusetts to embrace almost all of New England. It may be well to note that, at the time of the passage of the Law of 1647, Maine and New Hampshire were a part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Even when New Hampshire separated from Massachusetts, it retained the Law of 1647. In 1721 New Hampshire strengthened the former act by placing the penalty for nonobservance of the school law upon the selectmen of the town personally. Connecticut, in 1650, adopted the Law of 1647 as a part of her legal code and even strengthened it. The Plymouth colony in 1671 practically adopted the Law of 1642 and in 1677 established the Latin grammar schools in the colony.

Since the only type of grammar school with which the New Englanders were familiar was the Latin grammar school, it is obvious the Law had the furtherance of this school in mind. The prevalence of the Latin grammar school in Massachusetts and in the rest of New England during the last half of the seventeenth century leaves

no doubt that the Law of 1647 had reference to the then existing Latin grammar school.

What was the Latin grammar school?

In April, 1935 the Boston Public Latin School celebrated its 300th anniversary. It claims to be, and is generally conceded to be, the oldest free public secondary school in existence in the United States. It traces its history back to the establishment of the *Boston Latin Grammar School* five years after the settlement of Boston. An entry in the records of the town meeting of Boston in April, 1635 indicates that the citizens "upon public notice" voted "that our brother Philemon Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of children with us."

Whether this action led to the conduct of a Latin grammar school in Boston immediately or in the year following, as some historians maintain, is not of primary importance for us. We do know we are *at the beginning of the Latin grammar school movement* in the colonies, and that this school was recognized as one of the best of its day. It therefore set the style for the many that came into existence within the next score or more of years.

Unfortunately we do not have a record of a complete outline of the curriculum of the early Latin grammar school. By indirection we have many clues to the nature of the curriculum of the school. It is *clear from early records that the purpose of establishing Latin grammar schools was to prepare boys for college.* This is specifically mentioned in the Massachusetts Law of 1647. The entrance requirements of Harvard University as given for the year 1643 are stated as follows:

> When any Scholar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classicall Latine Author *extempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; and decline perfectly the Paradigm's of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the *Greek* tongue. Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.[5]

Much the same entrance requirements were stipulated for Yale University. As a matter of fact, before 1800, Latin, Greek, and arithmetic were the only subjects required for admission to the

[5] "New England's First Fruits," *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 1792, I, p. 242.

leading colleges of America. Arithmetic had a long struggle to gain a place beside Latin and Greek as a prerequisite requirement for college admission. The purpose given for the Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven in 1684 suggests the major curriculum emphasis of that school:

> The Erection of the said Schools being principally for the Instruction of hopeful youth in the Latin tongue, and other learned Languages so far as to prepare such youths for the colledge, and publique service of the country in church, and commonwealth.[6]

There are only fragmentary references to the early curriculum of the Boston Latin Grammar School. The earliest complete curriculum is recorded for the year 1789. However, historians are agreed that it was not greatly unlike the curriculum of 1635 because the curriculum of the Boston Public Latin School remained somewhat static before 1789. Further, it compares favorably with the curriculum of similar schools in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Boston Latin School in 1789 was reduced from a seven-year school to four years. The four-year curriculum is outlined below:

1st class: Cheever's *Accidence*
        Corderii's *Colloquies*—Latin and English
        Nomenclator
        Aesop's Fables—Latin and English
        Ward's Latin Grammar, or Eutropius

2nd class: Clarke's Introduction—Latin and English
        Ward's Latin Grammar
        Eutropius continued
        Selectae e Veteri Testamento Historiae, or
        Castilio's *Dialogues*
        The making of Latin, from Garretson's *Exercises*

3rd class: Caesar's *Commentaries*
        Tully's Epistles, or Offices
        Ovid's *Metamorphoses*
        Virgil
        Greek Grammar
        The making of Latin, from King's
          History of the Heathen Gods

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[6] Henry Barnard, "History of the Common Schools in Connecticut," *American Journal of Education*, IV, p. 710. Hartford F. C. Brownell, 1856.

4th class: Virgil continued—Tully's Orations
           Greek Testament—Horace
           Homer—Gradus ad Parnassum[1]

From this it is clear that the Latin grammar school literally ful-filled its name. Historians are agreed that the better schools, as judged by early colonial standards, consisted principally of Latin and Greek with the lions' share of emphasis given to Latin. It was the ideal of most schools to conduct all class conversation in the Latin tongue. The typical Latin grammar school curriculum was six or seven years in length, as was true of the Boston Public Latin School before 1789. When youths were taken into the school at such a tender age, particularly in the less favored communities, it might be expected that many of the beginners would be deficient in reading and writing. Arithmetic was not an accomplishment of the early colonial youth. It is said that many students in the uni-versity in the seventeenth century knew scarcely enough about numbers to find divisions and pages in the books used. In many *Latin grammar schools some instruction was given in the two R's* and occasionally in arithmetic. Toward the beginning of the eight-eenth century the emphasis upon the classical began to give way to the demand for English and for more practical curricular content.

Two major reasons for the heavy emphasis upon Latin and Greek in the curriculum of the early Latin grammar schools were the avowed college preparatory purpose of the school and the large place given to religion in the life of the early colonial leaders. Preparation for the ministry was a prominent reason given for the establishment of Harvard, Yale, and other early colonial colleges and universities. The religious motive played a large part in the educational emphasis of the New Englanders who accepted the religious idea of the Reformation that all men should be educated to read and interpret the Bible as their rule of life. *The Latin gram-mar school both prepared for college and emphasized religion.*

Attention should be called to the fact that the Latin grammar school was a public secondary school open to the children of all the citizens of the community. This was a distinctly new feature in

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[1] Pauline Holmes, *A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635–1935.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935, p. 267. Also Alexander J. Inglis, *The Rise of the High School in Massachusetts,* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911, pp. 2–3.

secondary education at that time. A companion feature was the effort to make the Latin grammar school a tuition-free school. This goal was honored possibly as much in the intent as in the realization. It was the intent of the Massachusetts Law of 1647. The early records, however, indicate that often the public funds were supplemented by the fees assessed the scholars. Nonetheless, the public avowal of the state that it had a responsibility to provide secondary education at public expense for all children laid the cornerstone for the future development of secondary education in America.

Still another important characteristic of the early Latin grammar school was that this early colonial school was for boys only. Colleges did not admit women. The colonial era was a time when the education of women was not looked upon as desirable, either in America or abroad. The Latin grammar school, therefore, was restricted to boys.

Why was the Latin grammar school so popular? That the Latin grammar school was the popular school of its day is unquestioned. There are many reasons for its popularity: it was the school of Latin and Greek, the sacred languages of the religion and learning for the Western World; it was the preparatory school for the institutions of higher learning where men prepared for the ministry or civic leadership. Those who did not go on to the colleges were assumed to be prepared for more intelligent leadership in the local affairs of church and community. The Puritans were educated and devout religionists who looked upon this school, next to the college, as the chief bulwark of learning and religion.

The enthusiasm of early churchmen for the Latin grammar school is vividly portrayed in the account by Cotton Mather of a plea by John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians."

A grammar school he would always have, upon the Place, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other Places to have the like. I can't forget the Ardour with which I once heard him pray, in a Synod of these Churches which met in Boston . . . Lord, for Schools everywhere among us! That our Schools may flourish! That every member of this Assembly may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good School encouraged in every Plantation of the Country.[6]

[6] Elmer L. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, Inc., 1902, p. 42.

The high esteem in which the Latin grammar school was held by the local community and the state drew to it teachers of high caliber. This, in turn, served to build its prestige even higher. Men like Ezekiel Cheever, who gave 70 years to teaching, the last 38 to the Boston Latin Grammar School, and Elizah Corlett, who taught for at least 50 years as schoolmaster in Cambridge, brought fame and attraction to these schools. The early schoolmasters of this secondary school were men of learning and influence. In prestige they ranked but slightly below the better clergy of the day. In fact the grammar school had many ministers as teachers; Cheever was a minister. Of 70 teachers connected with the Dorchester schools in the earlier period, 53 graduated from Harvard University and 31, *or more than half of the schoolmasters, were ordained ministers.* All of the early schoolmasters of Duxbury, Plymouth colony, were ministers. Schoolmastership was a popular stepping-stone to the full-time ministry.

Then, again, the fact that many of the early settlers of the colonies were products of similar schools abroad gave a sense of additional importance to the establishment of such schools here. It has been pointed out that William Penn attended the Chigwell Free Grammar School of England, Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport attended Coventry Free Grammar School, Roger Williams went to Charterhouse, and Edward Hopkins to the Royal Free Grammar School.[8] These are but a few of the men who set the standards of the educational life of the New World. There is a close similarity between the characteristics of the grammar schools these men attended and those of the early Latin grammar schools of the colonies. People tend to venerate the institutions of which they have been a part. This is all the more probable when people find themselves far removed from their old home environment.

It is only natural that some of the famous men of early colonial days who were the product of the local Latin grammar schools should bring added prestige and popularity to these schools. The Boston Latin Grammar School alone claimed as former students such famous Americans as John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Paine, and William Hooper—all signers of the Declaration of Independence. Other names on the roster of Boston

Latin's former students are Cotton Mather, James Bowdoin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Edward Everett Hale, Phillips Brooks, Edward Everett, and Charles Eliot,[10] the latter two famous presidents of Harvard University. It is easy to imagine the prestige and stability given the Latin grammar school by students such as these.

What were its European antecedents? There can be no doubt of the European origins of the Latin grammar school. It is of interest to understand more clearly the extent and nature of these origins because the Latin grammar school had had a profound influence upon the development of our American educational system. The persistence of this influence can be understood best in the light of the antecedents of this school.

The European secondary school was primarily a college preparatory school. For the most part it was open only to the privileged classes. As such its curriculum was influenced by the requirements of the universities, which placed great stress upon antiquity.

Two distinct influences are reflected in the curriculum of these schools. The first was the Renaissance movement, with its emphasis upon the life and literature of Greek and Latin antiquity and the study of Hebrew. The emphasis was put upon the study of the ancient classics with an effort particularly to achieve the pure Latin of such writers as Cicero.

The second influence was the Protestant Reformation, which swept Europe during the sixteenth century and challenged the conception of religion of the Catholic church. Its leaders insisted that men should be free to determine for themselves their rules of conduct and their duties to their God as these were revealed through individual study of the scriptures. By placing the responsibility for the determination of personal religious welfare upon the individual instead of the church, the Reformation reopened the field of Biblical scholarship; and the study of the scriptures meant a further stressing of the ancient languages. Education, thus, took on new importance.

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[10] Pauline Holmes, *The Tercentenary of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1935.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 2-5.

The religious reform group known as the Calvinists, with their principal center in Geneva, Switzerland, possibly gave fullest expression of any group in Europe to the ideas of the Renaissance and of the Reformation. The emphasis of the Calvinists upon the fundamental equality of all men and the direct personal responsibility of the individual in matters of religion, combined with their acceptance of the more formal aspects of the Renaissance stress upon the classical learning of antiquity, molded the pattern of Calvinist educational thinking. This thinking was embodied in the form of their secondary schools in Holland, in France, in Scotland, and among the Puritans of England.

Early colonial New England was made up for the most part of *Puritans. This was particularly true of Massachusetts. We can trace the immediate ancestry of the New England Latin grammar school to the grammar schools with which the Puritans were familiar in England.* Some of the differences between the New England pattern and its English prototype can be traced to the Calvinistic influences of continental Europe.

A comparison of the curriculum outlined on p. 28 with the one that was in use in Winchester School, England, about 1600, shows a remarkable similarity.

First Form: Disticha of Dionysius Cato
             Exercitato Linguae Latinae (Vives)
             Dialogues and Confabulationes of Corderius

Second Form: Terence
             Aesop's Fables (in Latin)
             Dialogi Sacri
             Colloquies of Erasmus

Third Form: Terence
             Sallust
             Selections of Cicero's Letters (Sturmius)
             Aesop (in Latin)

Fourth Form: Terence
             Sallust
             Ovid's *Tristia*
             Cicero's *De Officiis*
             Greek: Lucian's Dialogues, Grammar (Clenards)

Fifth Form: Justin
               Cicero's *De Amicitia*
               Ovid's *Metamorphoses*
               Greek: Isocrates, Plutarch [11]

The English curriculum places less emphasis upon the definitely religious type of literature. There is, however, a striking similarity between the Latin and Greek sources used. These authorities, such as Erasmus and Corderius, were exponents of Calvinistic ideas and suggest the general influence of continental thinking upon the grammar schools of England in the 17th century.

Why did the academy supersede the Latin school?

The opening of the eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of the decline of the Latin grammar school, for many reasons. As might be expected, the school maintained its original character in New England much longer than in the other colonies.

The passing of the years brought a change in the character of the early colonists. The original immigrants with their natural veneration for the institutions and customs of their homelands had laid down their burdens. The ties that held their parents to the Old World had little hold upon the children. There was a greater inclination and freedom to be critical of existing institutions in the light of the fitness of these institutions for the needs of the contemporary colonial situation. It was natural that succeeding generations should feel less keenly those compelling motives which led their forefathers to America. Their appraisal of the needs of colonial life tended to be more practical, more material, and less idealistic.

The new immigrants to the colonies at the close of the seventeenth century felt less the urgency to seek a home in a new land for the single or major purpose of political and religious freedom. The chance for material gain in the New World possibly had a larger place in the motivation of the settlers who came to our shores after the early colonists had thoroughly established themselves.

Then the practical demands of a New World rapidly undergoing change demanded or at least suggested many modifications of older customs and procedures. As the early colonists firmly established themselves and began to push back the frontiers, the

[11] Alexander J. Inglis, *The Role of the High School in Massachusetts*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911, p. 2.

custom of settling in compact communities gave way to the establishment of homes in the open country. This made attendance at religious services in the settlements difficult in the winter. The children and young people found it more difficult to attend school in community centers as the pioneering spirit led people farther and farther away from the coast towns. This difficulty was faced early in the Southern colonies with the development of plantations. In New England, where, for example, an early law required householders to live within a radius of one-half mile of the town church, the change came more slowly. Within a generation such laws were no longer enforcible.

The struggle to tame a wilderness and to wrest a living from a none too friendly environment, as in the Northern colonies, encouraged laxity in both religion and education. Of necessity the practical problems of making a living seemed more important than the luxury of an education. This was especially true of the Latin grammar school kind of education, which did not teach students any greater efficiency in performing their farm chores.

The practical demands of the new world required a more practical secondary school training than the Latin classics. Business required competency in such subjects as bookkeeping, navigation, surveying, commerce, and mathematics. The professional man had need of history, geography, logic, public speaking, government, and politics. The knowledge of French on the part of men who were engaged in government and commerce was now thought to be of more value than Latin.

A movement that had profound influence upon colonial education was the religious revival that swept over the colonies. This revival, known as the Great Awakening, began shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century and continued for most of the century. It placed great stress upon the emotional nature of religion. It emphasized worship and proper social conduct as of greater importance than the acceptance of carefully formulated creeds. It renewed a waning interest in all education, especially in education above the elementary level. The emphasis upon the importance of social conduct and the stress placed upon the common man, or equality of men, led to dissatisfaction with the more restrictive Latin grammar school. Instead impetus was given to a more democratic practical school, which stressed social ideas and a curriculum

designed to meet the needs of the time. As Monroe comments with reference to the Great Awakening: "The newer religious influences favored the building up of a new type of secondary school—the academy." [12]

The evolution of social institutions and institutional forms of education is relatively slow. As people became conscious of the restricted nature of the curriculum of the Latin grammar school, efforts were made to broaden the scope of its offerings. There is evidence that those schools less influenced by traditional environments did make cautious changes by adding a few practical subjects to the curriculum. The subjects most frequently added under protest were arithmetic, reading, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, English grammar, and surveying.

The tenacity of the old to maintain itself was repeated in the Latin grammar school. Generally reform was achieved more easily by setting up another type of school. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a new kind of school in operation in New York in 1723, which offered much besides the traditional curriculum:

There is a school in New York, in the Broad Street, near the Exchange where Mr. John Walton, late of Yale Colledge, Teacheth Reading, Writing, Arethmatick, whole Numbers and Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal, the Mariners Art, Plain and Mercators Way; Also Geometry, Surveying, the Latin Tongue, and Greek and Hebrew grammers, Ethicks, Rhetorick, Logick, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysicks, all or any of them for a Reasonable Price.[13]

In 1732 another school, The English Grammar School, was established in New York. It included in its curriculum such subjects as Latin, writing, all branches of mathematics, algebra, geometry, geography, navigation, and merchant's bookkeeping.[14]

Dissatisfaction with the Latin grammar school in America was

[12] Paul Monroe, *Founding of the American Public School System*, Vol. I. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, p. 161. See also Elmer L. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, Inc., 1903, pp. 85 ff. for an interesting account of the Great Awakening and its influence upon secondary education in America.

[13] R. F. Seybolt, *Source Studies in American Colonial Education: The Private School*. Bulletin No. 28. Bureau of Educational Research, College of Education, University of Illinois, 1925, p. 99.

[14] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*. Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. 63.

not without its counterpart in England. The basis of discontent with the old was not, however, the same in both countries. There was a general discontent on the part of thoughtful men in England with the pattern of education offered in the then approved secondary school. Among these men who were challenging English educational thought was Daniel De Foe, whose famous *Essay Upon Projects* Benjamin Franklin acknowledged as having had great influence in the plan developed for the academy he later established in Philadelphia. De Foe had studied in an English Academy in the English language such subjects as mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, history, geography, and politics as well as French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and Greek. John Milton in his *Tractate, Of Education*, and other writings advocated a more practical type of education than the Latin grammar school offered. He desired "a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." Students were to learn about agriculture, geography, history, physiology, politics, ethics, navigation, astronomy, mathematics, logic, economics, and other phases of knowledge. Unfortunately these subjects were to be mastered through a study of the Latin and Greek classics. Others who were stimulating a critical examination of traditional education in England were John Locke, John Drury, Sir William Petty, and Samuel Hartlib. Through Samuel Hartlib and others the educational ideas of the great Moravian educator Comenius were introduced widely in England.

Stimulated by the Act of Uniformity of 1662 in England, which attempted to enforce complete conformity to the established church in matters of religion and education, those known as Nonconformists began to set up schools of their own. Before the American Revolution more than 30 of these schools, generally called Academies, were known to be in existence. One of the most famous of these early academies was in charge of the Reverend Charles Morton at Newington Green. It was at this school that Daniel De Foe had been a student. It was here also that Samuel Wesley, the father of John and Charles Wesley, founders of the Methodists, was a pupil. *According to Wesley this academy possessed a bowling green, a fish pond, a laboratory, an air pump, a thermometer, and mathematical instruments of all sorts.* Because of the continual per-

secutions he suffered in England, Morton emigrated to Massachusetts in 1685 to continue his educational influence.

Benjamin Franklin is recognized as the father of the American academy. Through him the influence of the English academy movement and those forces in American colonial life which demanded a new type of secondary education found concrete expression. As early as 1743 Franklin had outlined a plan for an academy. The purpose of this school was to prepare youth for business and "the several offices of civil life." He proposed the establishment of an English school excluding all languages. This school was to have six classes. The first-year students were to begin with English grammar and orthography. In succeeding classes they would study history, rhetoric, logic, and moral and natural philosophy, finishing with "the reading of the best English authors in the sixth class." As a requirement for admission to this English school the student must be able to "pronounce and divide the Syllables in Reading and to write a legible Hand." Franklin reports in his writings that he found many men in sympathy with his plan but that many influential and wealthy people were opposed. Under these circumstances he gave up the idea temporarily.

Six years later Franklin was ready to make a compromise proposal for an academy. In deference to his more conservative friends, whose financial support he needed, he now proposed the inclusion of the languages in his academy. He then drew up a statement of *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.* A few quotations from the "Proposals" will reveal how far removed Franklin's idea of an academy was from the typical Latin grammar school:

> That a House be provided for the *Academy*, if not in the Town, not many miles from it; the Situation high and Dry, and if it may be, not far from a River, having a Garden, Orchard, Meadow, and a Field or two.

> That the House be furnished with a Library (if in the Country, if in the Town, the Town Library may serve) with Maps of all Countries, Globes, some Mathematical Instruments, an Apparatus for Experiments in Natural Philosophy, and for Mechanics; Prints, of all Kinds, Prospects, Buildings, Machines, etc.

* * *

All should be taught to write a fair Hand, and swift, as that is useful to All. And with it may be learned something of Drawing by Imitation of Prints, and some of the first Principles of Perspective.

Arithmetick, Accounts, and some of the first principles of Geometry and Astronomy.

The English Language might be taught by Grammar, in which some of our best Writers, as Tellotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon, Sidney, Cato's Letters, etc. should be Classicks. . . .

To form their Stile, they should be put on Writing Letters to each other, making Abstracts of what they read; or *writing the same Things* in their own Words; telling or writing Stories lately read, in their own Expressions.

* * *

History will show the wonderful effects of *Oratory* in governing, training and leading great Bodies of Mankind, Armies, Cities, Nations. . . . Then they may be made acquainted with the best Models among the Antients, their Beauties being particularly pointed out to them. Modern Political Oratory being chiefly performed by the Pen and Press, its Advantages over the Antients in some Respects are to be shown, as that its Effects are more extensive, more lasting, etc.

* * *

While they are reading Natural History, might not a little Gardening, Planting, Grafting, Inoculating, etc., be taught and practiced, and now and then Excursions made to the neighboring Plantations of the best Farmers, their Methods observ'd and reason'd upon for the Information of Youth? . . .

The History of Commerce, of the Invention of the Arts, Rise of Manufactures, Progress of Trade, Change of its Seats, with the Reasons, Causes, etc., may also be made interesting to Youth, and will be useful to all. And this with the Accounts, in other History of the prodigious Force and Effect of Engines and Machines used in War, will naturally introduce a Desire to be instructed in Mechanicks, and to be informed of the Principles of that Art by which weak Men perform Wonders, Labor is sav'd, Manufactures expedited, etc., etc."[13]

Franklin goes on at length in a similar discussion of the use of history in promoting both understanding and appreciation of the

[13] T. H. Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1749-1770.* Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company, 1900, pp. 497-500.

significance of religion for man, social and political problems, great men and great ideas of the past, and the great sweep of human progress. History would be associated with a study of Geography, Chronology, Ancient Customs, and Morality. In addition, Latin, Greek, French, German, and Spanish were made available to those who desired to take them. No one was to be compelled to study languages.[16]

The wealthy friends of Franklin appear to have supported this new academy project quite generously. An announcement of the formal opening of the academy, dated December 11, 1750, is of interest because of the list of subjects that were to be offered:

Notice is hereby given That the Trustees of the Academy of Philadelphia, intend (God willing) to open the same on the first Monday of January next; wherein Youth will be taught the Latin, Greek, English, French, and German Languages, together with History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Rhetoric; also Writing, Arithmetic, Merchants Account, Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing in Perspective, and other Mathematical Sciences; with natural and mechanical Philosophy, etc. agreeable to the Constitutions heretofore published, at the rate of Four Pounds per Annum, and Twenty Shillings Entrance.[17]

The modified idea of an academy that Franklin had cherished began in January, 1751 as the Academy of Philadelphia. It was organized into three schools, the English, the Latin, and the Mathematical. Each school had a separate master. In 1754 a fourth school was organized, the Philosophical, in which logic, rhetoric, and moral and natural philosophy were taught to more advanced students.

The academy movement was slow to take root in spite of the general dissatisfaction with the Latin grammar schools. A few schools called academies had been established in the middle and Southern colonies, but prior to the Revolution it is doubtful if any school had been incorporated by the name Academy except the one at Philadelphia.

The earliest academies in New England were the Phillips Acad-

emy, which opened in 1778 at Andover, Massachusetts and was incorporated in 1780, and the Phillips Exeter Academy, chartered in 1781 by New Hampshire and opened in 1783. The first academy in New England was begun in Massachusetts with the founding of the Dummer Academy in 1762, but it was not incorporated until 1782. The tenacity of the Latin grammar school was due in part to tradition and in part to legal mandates. Before 1789 the Massachusetts law requiring a Latin grammar school in each town of 100 families was enforced. In that year the figure was changed to 200 families. In 1790 only 113 towns maintained these schools, out of 270 that presumably had 200 families. In 1820 only 172 out of 302 presumably qualified towns had schools. The law was proving hard to enforce. In 1824 a law was passed that practically exempted all but seven towns of Massachusetts from the maintenance of Latin grammar schools.

In 1797 Massachusetts recognized the academies as a part of its public school system and provided grants of public land for their support. Vermont quickly followed this lead. From this time forward the rise of the academy in Massachusetts was comparatively rapid. There were 17 incorporated academies in 1800, 36 in 1820, 68 in 1830, 114 by 1840, and 154 by 1860. In New England by 1830 there were 168 academies in existence, and by 1850 the number had increased to 1,007, with almost 1,600 teachers and over 41,000 pupils.

A similar growth in the academy was registered throughout the other states. A study made in 1796 of the number of academies in existence in the thirteen original states lists 50 by name and mentions a number of others. New York had 19 chartered academies and Virginia had at least 21 such institutions by 1800. A survey made in 1833 by the Secretary of the American Education Society reported information from 497 academies from fourteen states. By 1850 the Middle Atlantic States had 1,635 academies, and the Mississippi Valley towns boasted 753. A total of 6,085 academies were in existence by 1850 with 12,260 teachers and an enrollment of 263,096 pupils.

It was not the more practical curriculum offerings alone that made the academy so popular. The Latin grammar school in its very nature was the school of the aristocracy. It was so in England and Europe and remained so in America. From the first it was re

strictive in its enrollment, not by any legal design, but by the very nature of the heritage of the school. Many of those in charge of these schools tended to create an aristocratic atmosphere about the school that discouraged those of doubtful social or economic status.

There was, on the other hand, an atmosphere of democracy about the academy. It tried to meet the needs of all. It appealed to a much broader clientele. The so-called best families, in the earlier period, were drained off to the Latin grammar school. The academy was "the people's" school. At the same time it must be remembered that these schools were tuition schools largely, whereas the Latin grammar schools were partly tax-supported. The ratio of academy support by fees as against governmental and endowment aids is estimated to have been well over three to one. The estimate in reverse might not be too far away from the ratio of governmental support of the Latin grammar schools. The tuition did tend to cut off the extreme lower levels of the population, so that the academy did not become a completely democratized institution.

Another feature that added greatly to the general popularity of the academy was its cautious willingness to admit girls, although not all academies did so. The idea of coeducational secondary schools did not gain wide favor until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Old prejudices die hard. Leicester, one of the very early academies in Massachusetts, was coeducational. At least one other Massachusetts academy was coeducational before 1800. By 1860 Virginia had 255 incorporated academies, 69 of which were for girls and 20 of which were coeducational. Pennsylvania by 1842 had 103 academies or similar institutions, 37 of which were for girls. By 1850, the education of women at the secondary level was well under way, although predominantly in academies restricted to their sex.

The curriculum of the early academy has been discussed at some length. The practical emphasis of the academy gained momentum with the beginning of the nineteenth century. While the curriculum of the Latin grammar school remained narrow and inflexible, the curriculum of the academy was limited only by the practical ability of the local school to provide subjects. Besides, few if any legal restrictions were imposed on the curriculum offerings of the academy for many decades. The effort to serve all the needs of the students who attended encouraged a broad curriculum offering. At

the heart of the academy curriculum were the time-honored classical subjects because, as the academy gained popularity, it took the place of the Latin grammar school as a preparatory school for those who expected to enter college. Beyond this, new subjects were added constantly to meet a variety of interests and needs.

New York State, where tradition was less influential, offers a good picture of the expanding academy curriculum. Prior to 1817 more than 20 subjects were offered by the academies of New York. Between 1787 and 1870 the regent's reports disclose a total of 149 different subjects taught in the academies. It is interesting to note that of these 23 are listed before 1826 and 26 appear after 1840. The remaining 100 subjects appear during the fifteen-year period 1826–1840, and of these 75 were added in the very brief four-year period 1826–1829. The offering for 1837 alone totals more than 60 subjects.[18] The big expansion in the curriculum came after 1825.

An aristocratic Latin grammar school with a limited college preparatory curriculum could not compete with the academy that catered to the practical needs of the average citizen. For at least the first 75 years after Franklin saw his dream take form at Philadelphia, the academies looked upon themselves as "finishing schools." Their primary concern was to prepare youth "for life"—that is, to equip their students to live intelligently as citizens and to acquire some competency for the ordinary vocations. Facing such competition the Latin grammar schools found their popularity steadily waning. A responsible student of this period has asserted that scarcely a Latin grammar school worthy of the name existed at the close of the Revolution anywhere in New England. This appears to be an overstatement; but there is little doubt that the Latin grammar school was rapidly losing its hold upon the people by the close of the century. Except for a few schools such as the Boston Latin Grammar School, the Latin grammar school shortly after 1800 surrendered its leadership to the academy.

Why did the high school supersede the Academy?

Three major factors were influential in the eclipse of the popular academy. As has been pointed out, the academy, although

more democratic than the Latin grammar school, was still not a completely democratic institution. It was supported by endowments and by tuition, the latter providing its main financial support. It will be recalled that Franklin's Philadelphia Academy charged four pounds tuition.

The New England precedent of tax support in the "Old Deluder" Law of 1647 provided the basis for partial governmental support of the academy by Massachusetts. In 1797 that state made provision for grants of public land for the support of academies. Other forms of charitable support were provided by both cities and states. Some academies became the subject of support by local communities. In turn they were required to become tuition-free to the youth of the local community. The "free academies," as these schools were called, grew in popularity. Following the lead of New York, which established a free academy in 1847, most of the larger cities of the East soon set up similar tax-supported academies. The demand was clearly for a tax-supported free school to serve the interests and needs of the masses.

A second source of dissatisfaction with the academy was its private nature. After the pattern of the Philadelphia Academy, which had a Board of Trustees, it became the custom for these institutions to be managed by private groups of trustees. They were self-constituted and, to a large extent, independent in the government of the academy. It was difficult for patrons and others to influence the policies of these schools. Witness, for example, Benjamin Franklin's bitter criticism of the conduct of the Philadelphia Academy trustees, because they had strayed so far from the original purposes of the academy as he planned it. Nevertheless, Franklin appeared helpless to correct the evils of which he so bitterly complained. With the growth of the academy movement and the decline of the Latin grammar school, this general dissatisfaction grew in intensity.

Boston had maintained its Latin grammar school without apparent regard for the academy movement. It had set up a seven-year English grammar school largely devoted to reading, writing, arithmetic, and a few English subjects of an elementary type. This school was not sufficient in itself for those not going on to the Latin grammar school, nor did it appear to be properly articulated for those who were destined for the Latin school.

In 1810 the school committee considered setting up a parallel

institution to the Latin school. This school, to be called the English Classical School, was to be three years in length, for boys only, and to take youth at the approximate age of twelve. Apparently the grammar school was to be the elementary school that prepared for this school, since "it be required of every candidate, to qualify him for admission, that he be well acquainted with reading, writing, English grammar in all its branches, and arithmetic as far as simple proportion." In addition the Masters were to be university-trained. This proposal was submitted to a town meeting called in January, 1821 for the purpose of considering the proposition. It passed with only three dissenting votes.

The English Classical School of Boston opened in May, 1821 with an enrollment of over 100 students. For those who are impatient at the seeming slowness of current new educational ideas to gain acceptance it is well to recall that it required approximately three-quarters of a century for Benjamin Franklin's dream of a secondary school free from foreign languages to become an official reality. The three-year curriculum offered by the English Classical School is of interest:

Studies of the First Class:
  Composition
  Reading from the most approved authors
  Exercises in Criticism; comprising critical analyses of the language, grammar, and style of the best English authors, their errors and beauties
  Declamation
  Geography
  Arithmetic continued
Studies of the Second Class:
  Composition
  Reading
  Exercises in Criticism
  Declamation
  Algebra
  Ancient and Modern History and Chronology
  Logic
  Geometry
  Plane Trigonometry; and its application to Mensuration of Heights and Distances

Navigation
Surveying
Mensuration of Superficies and Solids
Forensic Discussion

Studies of the Third Class:
Composition
Exercises in Criticism
Declamation
Mathematics
Logic
History; particularly that of the United States
Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy
Moral and Political Philosophy

Three years later, in 1824, the name of this school was changed by official vote to English High School.[19] Thus was introduced the name that has been associated with the secondary school which is so much a part of contemporary American education. A high school for girls was opened in Boston in 1826; but in 1828 it appears to have been discontinued, for a curious reason: it was so popular the School Committee found it difficult to supply facilities for all who wished to attend. It was not until 1854 that the girls of Boston were again provided a high school.

The high school movement gained momentum rapidly. The United States Commissioner of Education in 1904 estimated that there were 321 high schools in existence by 1860, although other estimates vary widely.

Massachusetts is reported to have had 64 high schools in 1852 and Ohio 97 by 1856. After the Civil War a secondary school that was more thoroughly democratic, tax-supported, and free to even the poorest youth caught the imagination of the American people. By 1890 its rapid growth had increased the number of schools to

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[19] For those who may be interested in the possible origin of the term *high school*, historians of education agree that the name probably came by way of Scotland. Edinburgh, Scotland had a famous secondary school at this time called the High School. Professor John Griscom, of New York, had been in Scotland and had become very much interested in this Edinburgh school. His extended account of it had appeared in the *North American Review* in January, 1824. It is known that Griscom was well-known and influential in Boston before this date.

6,000. The rapid development of the high school after 1890 *is re-counted* in Chapter IX.

The growth of the high school was most rapid after 1874 following the decision of the famous Kalamazoo case. Up to this time there were those who questioned the right of many states to establish secondary schools at public expense where the constitutional provisions of the state had not explicitly provided for such schools. The issue had been before the courts in a number of states. The most clear-cut issue appears to have arisen in Michigan. In 1872 the city of Kalamazoo voted to establish a high school supported by an increased tax levy. A citizen challenged in court the right of the city to support such a school by taxation, and the matter went to the State Supreme Court. In 1874, the Court ruled that by clear inference from the state constitution education was accepted as a responsibility of the people of the state. The fact that no specific mandate had been placed upon the people to provide schools at the secondary level was not to be construed as a prohibition against the maintenance of such schools. The Court declared that school districts had a right to determine for themselves the extent of the educational program they wished to offer "if their voters consent in regular term to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose." This Court decision seems to have quieted legal opposition to the high school, and there was a sharp rise in the growth of the high school after this date.

The third factor that led to the decline of the academy arose with the eclipse of the Latin grammar school before 1850. In spite of the unhappy compromise Franklin found it necessary to make with his ideal of a school based entirely upon the English language, before 1850 the academy for the most part kept the emphasis upon the interests of the non-college group. As the Latin grammar school faded from the scene, the colleges found it increasingly difficult to secure properly qualified candidates for admission. It was natural for the colleges to look to the growing academy as the institution to prepare their students properly. Combined with an equally natural desire on the part of these new schools to gain academic respectability, the character of the academy began to undergo change. Primary emphasis upon the college preparatory function gradually usurped the attention of the academy.

After the *Civil War* financial stresses made it difficult, particu-

larly for privately supported schools, to continue extensive curricular offerings. The academy gave way to college domination and reverted to the limited college preparatory curriculum of the old Latin grammar school. This was its death sentence. The decline of the academy was rapid after 1850; by 1885 there were more high schools than academies, and by 1900 there were fewer than 1,000 academies compared with 6,000 high schools.

At last we had to accept a secondary school distinctly American. The Latin grammar school was transplanted almost bodily from Europe. The academy had its roots partly in England and partly in America. From the first the high school has been essentially an American institution.

How have the college and university influenced the secondary school?

Thus far the college and the university have been seen as all-powerful influences in determining the character and development of the Latin grammar school and the academy. The age-old European conception of the secondary school as the preparatory school for the university has been universally accepted in American education. The early colleges and universities of America were dominated by traditional European ideas of what universities should be. The Old World cultural ideas of universities persisted in the pattern of American universities with slight modification until the beginning of the twentieth century. In many, the old classical ideas still prevail. Consequently, the reluctance to make adaptations to the peculiar requirements of a New World with new needs has caused the university to place formidable obstacles in the way of early American secondary schools' becoming indigenous to American life.

The story of the Latin grammar school and of the academy, which did make an effort to adjust its character to meet the needs of its clientele, has been repeated in the story of the high school. As the high school began to supplant the academy in America, the recurring issue of a suitable preparatory institution for the colleges and universities reasserted itself. The gulf between the preparation given in the high school and that needed to qualify for the unbending college and university was much greater than the gulf between

years older than graduates of similar institutions in Europe. This penalization of American youth he laid directly at the door of the high school. As a result of his vigorous leadership a committee of ten men was appointed by the National Education Association in 1892 to consider the matter. This group became known as the Committee of Ten. Under the chairmanship of President Eliot conferences were set up under the nine other members of the committee to study aspects of groups of subjects. They were to determine for each group the answer to a number of questions, such as, at what age should the subject be first introduced; what length of time should be devoted to it; at what stages were parts of the subject to be covered; what were the requirements for college entrance; what was the desirability of differentiating between those going to college and those not going; what were the best methods of teaching; and what were the best examination methods for college admission.

The composition of the Committee of Ten must be of interest to all students of secondary education. Only one of the committee was a high school principal. The Committee was weighted down with those primarily concerned with college entrance requirements. There were five college presidents, one college professor, the United States Commissioner of Education, a public high school principal, and two headmasters of private schools. Eight out of the ten men had interests centered in the college. The composition of the subcommittee membership was just as one-sided, as follows:

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47 were in the service of colleges or universities
 1 was a government official formerly in government service
21 were headmasters of private schools
14 were principals of high schools
 2 were public school superintendents
 4 were representatives of normal schools
 1 was a director of a public school department
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Of the 90 members only 16 were concerned primarily with the possible function of the secondary school in a democratic society. Although the Committee of Ten made the interesting statement that "the secondary schools of the United States, taken as a whole, do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges," they very effectively set up a recommended program of studies designed primarily for ready admission of every high school

youth to college. Every recommendation of the Committee of Ten had college entrance as a foremost consideration. They rejected any suggestion of differentiation of the curriculum or of method of instruction for those either going on to college or going out into life:

The Committee of Ten unanimously agree . . . that every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease. Thus, for all pupils who study Latin, or history, or algebra, for example, the allotment of time and the method of instruction in a given school should be the same year by year.[20]

A perfect lockstep system calculated to streamline all high school graduates for college. To ease the burden of the colleges for the care of inadequately prepared candidates, languages were to be taught "three to five years earlier" than they were at the time. In fact all subjects were to be pushed back farther into the early secondary and elementary school. Most subjects needed more time. To economize time it was recommended that the elementary school be cut down to six years and the seventh and eighth grades be added to the secondary school. This was a master stroke in streamlining the school curriculum, putting back into the secondary school subjects then taught in college, and thus enabling youth to graduate earlier from college. President Eliot could not have asked for much more from one year.

The Committee of Ten is of unusual importance not only because of its efforts to turn the high school into an exact mold of a college preparatory institution, but also because it ushered in a quarter of a century of persistent and effective effort to streamline the American secondary school into an efficient college preparatory institution. It is needless to enter into the details of subsequent committee reports. The listing of the names of these committees is amply sufficient to indicate their primary purpose. The next committee to grapple with this problem was appointed by the National Education Association in 1895 and reported in 1899—the Committee on College Entrance Requirements. This was followed by

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[20] *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies.* American Book Company (Published for the National Education 1894) p. 17.

other committee report in 1908, by the Committee on Economy of Time. Another committee report was made in 1911 by the Committee on Articulation of the High School and College. This report was followed in 1913 by that of a second Committee on Economy of Time. The final committee report in this 25-year series of National Education Association committees came in 1918 with the report of the Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary School. It should not be assumed that the college adherents had everything their own way. The 1911 and 1913 committees were developing opposition to the straitjacketing of the high school by the college.

The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education report was a new charter of liberty for the high school. Unlike the times when previous revolts had occurred, no new institution was set up, but a new declaration of freedom was made. This committee virtually turned its back upon all that had been achieved by the colleges. It declared in fact what the Committee of Ten had rejected in practice, even when it declared in fact that the secondary schools "do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for college." A general report issued by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education stated clearly and briefly the basic principles of secondary education. The Commission boldly declared that the need for reorganization flowed from the following conditions: (1) *Changes in society*. It was pointed out that fundamental changes were taking place requiring new modes of adjustment on the part of the individual in his life as a citizen, as a worker, and as one possessed of greater leisure; (2) *Changes in the secondary school population*. Instead of a select group of students in the high school definitely preparing for college, there are large numbers of students of varying abilities who do not plan to go to college. Many drop out at various stages in their education; (3) *Changes in educational theory*. The present knowledge of psychology has affected understanding of individual differences, and has changed the conception of learning, requiring a reevaluation of former ideas of "mental discipline." It has also shown the importance of applying knowledge (rather than the do n formal acquisition of knowledge), and it has shown that development of the individual is continuous, not periodic. In short, studies regoing changes in society, in the character of the second-

ary-school population, and in educational theory, together with
many other considerations call for extensive modifications of sec-
ondary education." The Commission stated the general purposes
of the secondary school in a democratic society in these broad
statements:

> The Purpose of democracy is so to organize society that each member
> may develop his personality primarily through activities designed for the
> well-being of his fellow members and of society as a whole.

* * *

Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the
school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals,
habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to
shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.[21]

In order that these purposes of education might be achieved most
effectively through the secondary school the following major ob-
jectives were set up: (1) Health; (2) Command of fundamental
processes; (3) Worthy home-membership; (4) Vocation; (5) Citi-
zenship; (6) Worthy use of leisure; (7) Ethical character.

Obviously, the translation of the basic ideas set forth by the
Commission in this general report, and as reflected in the 16 sep-
arate subcommittee reports, demanded a complete about-face in
secondary education. Since 1918 the high school has been under-
going adjustments in harmony with the spirit of this declaration of
emancipation. The past 35 years and more, since the report, have
witnessed a general, though sometimes slow, change. The change
has been gradually accelerated since 1930. It would be too much to
expect an institution handicapped by more than half a century of
college domination to become fully reoriented in so short a time.
The roots of the tradition, of course, go back to the colonial Latin
grammar school, and still farther back into the educational prac-
tices of Europe.

Fortunately, the college and the university have taken a more
conciliatory attitude toward the revolt of the high school. The same
factors that led the high school to declare its independence of the
tradition-bound, almost illiterate college began to affect this insti-

tution, though much more slowly. The changes in the conceptions of psychology which came with the experimental work in that field at the turn of the century have profoundly affected higher education by leading to a more functional conception of education. There is a growing recognition on the part of the college and the university that the secondary school has a distinct though complementary educational function in our democratic society separate from that of the institutions of higher learning. Some recent studies, such as the Progressive Education Association experiment with thirty secondary schools, have given the colleges less confidence in the value of those subjects that were so long an undeviating prerequisite for college entrance. This study cast doubt upon the idea that any single pattern of subjects can be the best means of preparing high school youth for success in college.[22] On the contrary, it led to the presumption that there were other factors even more significant than subject matter as determinants of a student's success in college. Other studies of a similar nature have accentuated these conclusions. It is now possible for a student who has shown superior general ability and accomplishments in his school activities to gain admission to many of the leading colleges or universities without regard to any group of subjects studied. Liberalization of college entrance requirements to meet the standards of a relatively independent high school, as might be expected, is much more advanced in the Middle West and West than in the East, where tradition has been deeply entrenched.

How have economic and social developments influenced secondary education?

This book is not a treatise on sociology or economics. It is necessary at this point only to indicate a few of the major developments that have influenced the direction and organization of secondary education. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education had this in mind when it pointed out that the need for reorganization of the secondary school was based in part upon "changes in society."

One of the fundamental social changes that has affected education,

[22] For a report on the nature of the study, the results, and the conclusions that were abstracted therefrom see W. M. Aikin, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

and the secondary school in particular, has been the radical shift from a rural to an urban nation. Less than 5 per cent of the population was urban at the time the American republic came into being. The rural emphasis in our population continued with relatively little change before 1850 except along the Atlantic seaboard. After the Civil War the shift in population was rapid. By 1950, 64.0 per cent of the population was to be found in towns and cities; and only 16.6 per cent of the population was classified as farm population.

This shift from the open country to concentrated population areas required changes in the school. From one-room or very small schools children were gathered together into larger units. This bringing together of large numbers of pupils into one place led at first to the separation of those of approximate age and accomplishment into different rooms with teachers for each room. Then the practice, particularly in the high school, of the separation of youths into classes by subject with separate teachers for each subject came into vogue. The development of large cities created a need for more than one school in a community. This brought about a new and more complicated form of school administration. To secure proper coordination between these schools and to handle the support of education in the community as a unit, an executive officer known as the Superintendent assumed oversight of, and responsibility for, all public schools in the community. The former headmasters of schools, later to be called principals, became subordinate to the Superintendent. Many of the tasks formerly performed by them were transferred to the office of the Superintendent.

The change from rural to urban residence has not kept pace with the shift which has taken place in the numbers who have transferred their vocational activities from the country to the city. The number engaged in agricultural pursuits in 1820 constituted 71.8 per cent of the entire working population of America. By 1953 only 9.6 per cent of the nation's labor force was engaged in agriculture. Large worker populations in increasingly congested sections of our large cities have suggested a change in the school program to meet the needs of city youth. A tendency of industries, until recently, to attract teen-age youths into their employ has created a heavy number of drop-outs from the schools, extending even to the elementary grades. The second decade of the twentieth century saw over half of our youth drop out of school before completing the sixth grade.

In high schools during the same period the drop-outs among those who entered was exceedingly high. The demand both for practical vocational training and more realistic citizenship education has been widespread. The needs of the youth of the city in contradistinction to those of the rural community have required some attention.

The changes in transportation and communication have made it possible to bring the youths of the open rural country or small villages into larger school units where more diversified educational offerings and a better quality of instruction are available. The utilization of radio as a means of bringing to the school world events of interest and specialized educational programs has been a marked feature of the recent developments in communication.

These changes in the socio-economic life of our country have produced other problems that have influenced the direction of education. The institutions that once carried extensive educational responsibilities, such as the home and the church, have given up much of their older educative influences under the stress of modern life. The secondary school has been slow to fit into the educational gaps thus created, but more and more in recent years it has been adjusting its program to meet these needs.

The large numbers of students now entering the secondary school necessitate a change in the school program. The students of today have a wider range of interests and needs than those who attended high school in 1880. Then the high school students were all destined for college, whereas today one finds that approximately 75 per cent of them are completing their formal education in the high school.

What has been the influence of developments in educational theory?

First and foremost among the influences of educational theory has been the clear recognition of the peculiar function of education in a democratic society. The final triumph of this idea in American education is reflected most in the secondary school. The old traditional conception of secondary education that held sway for centuries and tenaciously fought to dominate in America was aristocratic in social outlook and undemocratic in practice. Now it appears the battle has been won for the democratic idea that secondary education in America should be for all young people, and so designed that it will contribute as much as possible to the personal and social develop-

ment of each. The full acceptance of this theory has led to the intensification of the effort to make secondary education physically available to everyone and to create a curriculum of functional value to all.

The changes that have come in the theories of psychology have had far-reaching effects upon secondary education. The studies made on the subject of "individual differences" have been extensive and revolutionary in character. Until the first decade of this century our knowledge of individual differences was very limited. The fact that one man differed from another has been recognized since ancient times, but until very recent times the more subtle nuances of these differences were unknown. Education seemed to ignore much of what was known.

Before 1900 such men as Galton, Wundt, Ebbinghaus, Cattell, Stern, and Binet were laying the basis for a better understanding of these differences. The work of Thorndike, leading to his notable publication *Mental Work and Fatigue and Individual Differences and Their Causes* in 1914, along with the published work of other men, finally forced the schools to take into account the principal facts of individual differences. Henceforth the schools were forced to take into account fundamental differences not previously recognized in the area of physical development and to acknowledge a wide range of mental differences as well as those which grew out of widely different social environments.

The old idea that had gained almost complete acceptance in educational practice for many generations before 1900 was that learning consisted in training the faculties of the mind. The notion was generally accepted that mind was made of separate functions or parts called faculties. These faculties consisted of such separate powers as reason, judgment, imagination, and memory, among others. It was possible, for example, to develop the reason faculty so that in any activity in which reason was needed—politics, business, philosophy, or love—reason would be equally efficient. This has been known in education as "mental discipline." It was faith in this conception of the learning process that made it possible for the Committee of Ten, in 1893, seriously to insist that the curriculum and the method of teaching should be the same for all secondary school students irrespective of what a student intended to do or be when his formal education ceased. Another theory of learning antedating

that of "mental discipline" and often confusedly existing side by side with it in the thinking and practice of older educators, was the very ancient idea that the brain was a storehouse or reservoir in which information and ideas were stored for future use. Useful facts for adult living were taught students in the expectation that they would be recalled and understood when needed. It was not important that the learner understand the meaning of the facts he learned or appreciate their worth at the time he learned them.

Under the impact of critical observation and experimentation these theories were found untenable. Mental discipline and the "reservoir" theory are no longer accepted by educators trained in modern psychology. Modern educators recognize the transfer of training, which is based upon the psychological fact of generalization of experiences from one situation to another. This is a far cry from the theory of "mental discipline" and requires a radical adjustment in the practices of education.

Instead of the old notion that the brain was the exclusive seat of learning, psychology now accepts the entire nervous system, in fact the entire physical organism, as the instrument of learning. Learning is now considered to have taken place when there is a change in the behavior of the learner. This learning is now thought to take place as the individual meets situations and attempts to make adequate adjustments to these situations. Stated another way, learning takes place through experience. This revolutionary conception of the learning process has equally revolutionary implications for education, which are now beginning to find expression in revisions of the curriculum as well as in the changed methods employed in the schools.

Although it is not possible or desirable to consider the many aspects of the new psychology that has influenced educational theory and in turn secondary education, the importance of motivation in the modern conception of learning must be mentioned. Motivation is made the key to learning. The long-time insistence of John Dewey has been that learning takes place only under the stimulus of "goal seeking." He has contended also that goal seeking is the pursuit of a goal which, when it is reached, the seeker believes will relieve a felt tension or inner disturbance. These tensions or disturbances are usually expressed in terms of the needs and desires felt by the learner. The application of the modern doctrine of motivation to the secondary school is now profoundly affecting the development

of secondary education, particularly in the realm of curriculum and method.

How did World Wars I and II affect secondary education?

The major influences of World War I upon the development of the secondary school were felt more in the intensification of existing trends than in the inauguration of new developments. As a result of the war the democratic conception of the secondary school was greatly enhanced. The two-century-old struggle to democratize the American secondary school gained immediate impetus. The war in itself had stressed the democratic ideals for which the Allies fought. As part of our war propaganda, slogans perpetrated the idea that it was democracy *versus* autocracy at war. Men from every walk of life fought together paying no attention to social distinction. Men and women, both in and out of the services, became more conscious of the meaning of democracy.

The premium placed upon education as part of the war effort played an important part in bringing prestige to education. College men were given special inducements to enter officers' training camps in both world wars. The need for technically trained men gave a greater sense of importance to the high school, and helped stimulate the emphasis upon vocational education that has had such vogue in the years since.

The impetus given the testing movement in World War I cannot be overlooked. The chance to develop a new and struggling educational innovation by mass testing was most opportune. It advanced both the acceptance of, and technical skill in, tests so that the high school felt the impact much earlier than it would otherwise have. The Army Alpha and Beta classification tests were used extensively in the high schools following the war and encouraged the development of other tests that influenced education.

The curriculum of the secondary school was also influenced by World War I—witness the exclusion of German from the high school, often by law. The intensification of emphasis upon the study of American institutions, particularly the almost hysterical and misguided wave of legislative mandates requiring the study of the Constitution, has not yet been fully adjusted. The emphasis upon a better acquaintance with American life and ideals was good; the mistaken attempt to achieve it by mechanically memorizing the framework

12. Trace the decline of the Latin grammar school and the rise of the academy.

13. How did Franklin's Academy of 1751 differ from the typical Latin grammar school?

14. To what extent was or was not coeducation practiced in the Latin grammar school and the academy?

15. Compare the curriculum of the early Boston Latin Grammar School with the curriculum of the English Classical School of Boston, generally accepted as our first American high school.

16. Trace and give reasons for the decline of the academy and the rise of the high school.

17. What part have the college and university played in the development of the American secondary schools—Latin grammar school, academy, and high school?

18. What part did Charles Eliot, President of Harvard, play in the development of the high school?

19. Explain the importance of the Committee of Ten for secondary education.

20. Have group reports on the salient features of the recommendations of the several committees following the Committee of Ten up to 1918.

21. In what ways may the Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of 1918 be regarded as "a new charter of liberty for high schools"?

22. What changes in social and population trends and educational theory made the Report of 1918 almost inevitable?

23. What effect did World Wars I and II have upon the development of secondary education?

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CHAPTER III

In What Respects Are Our Secondary Schools Now Different from Those in Europe?

Every thoughtful American knows that our dominant heritage came from northern Europe. Most of our population came from northern European countries until near the close of the nineteenth century when our major immigration source shifted to southern Europe. As a result, much of American life has been influenced by northern European social-political thought and institutional practices.

The development of early secondary education in America was profoundly influenced by the educational ideals and practices of the secondary schools of Europe. Far more than most Americans realize, our secondary schools have been influenced by the fortunes of educational developments in Europe. This was clearly indicated in the direct influence of the Latin grammar schools of England upon the schools that bore that name in early New England. In fact it has not been until recent times that our American secondary schools have freed themselves sufficiently from foreign educational influences to build a secondary school program that reflects American ideals and life.

It is important, therefore, to note the principal developments of secondary education in Europe that parallel the earlier developments of our school system. In a book of this kind only the briefest overview sufficient to make clear the interrelations that have existed between education in Europe and America can be undertaken. Attention will be given to those countries which have contributed

63

most to American secondary education. England, Germany, and France, in the order given, are considered as having had the greatest influence upon our educational practices.

What was European education like in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

The secondary schools of Europe reflected the social backgrounds of the people these schools served. The history of Europe gives a picture of social cleavage between different classes of society. The newcomers to America in the colonial period, for the most part, did not recognize social distinctions, and, as second and third generation colonists grew up, the vestiges of social distinction as it was known in the homeland largely disappeared. Europe suffered from centuries of sharp distinction between the ruling caste and the peasant or ordinary worker; education beyond the sheerest minimum was the prerogative of those "born to the purple." As industrial life began to take form in European countries, those with wealth began to find a place in the upper social strata. It was for the élite of the countries of Europe that secondary education existed.

A second characteristic of the secondary schools of Europe was their use as preparatory schools for the universities. The universities were classical in emphasis and highly selective of those who entered. It was expected that those privileged to study at the universities would become the future leaders in state and church, and to some extent in the marts of trade. Martin Luther was very conscious of the highly selective character of the students who attended the university. At the University of Wittenberg it was Luther's custom to wear a skullcap during his lectures. It was his practice upon entering the lecture room to doff his cap to the students, for, as he explained, "Perchance I may be standing in the presence of one of the future princes of Germany." The universities set up rigid entrance requirements for which the secondary schools made every effort to qualify their students.

A third characteristic of the secondary schools during the seventeenth century was that attendance was restricted to boys; education beyond the barest rudiments was not available for girls. Many generations passed before girls could expect equality of educational opportunity with boys. They were not permitted to assume important roles in church, state, or business; therefore, education for them

was not thought necessary or desirable. Indeed, it was quite generally believed at this time that women were limited in their ability to acquire learning. Thus, secondary schools were considered as of benefit for boys only. It is only in very recent times that European countries have acknowledged the rights of girls to secondary education; coeducation is still not generally accepted.

Still another characteristic of the early secondary schools of Europe was that they were privately suported. The leading European countries had not yet accepted the principle of free admission of youth to secondary educational privileges. Church-supported and privately endowed schools, and some local municipally aided schools were able to remove part of the financial burden of education from the students and their families. Tuition was always charged those in Europe who aspired to a secondary education.

As might be expected from the highly selective and college-preparatory nature of European secondary education, the curriculums of these schools gave great emphasis to the classics; the literature of Greek and Roman antiquity was especially highly regarded. The early Latin grammar schools of the American colonies were fairly representative of the classical nature of the secondary schools of Europe of that period. Since religion greatly influenced education at this time, subjects of a religious character made up a part of the school curriculum.

England. The English forerunner of the Latin grammar school of the American colonial period had its beginning in the early sixteenth century. At this time humanism, sometimes referred to as the Renaissance, which had swept over Italy and had begun to make itself felt in northern Europe, was introduced into English secondary schools. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's Church in London, re-established St. Paul's School about 1510 along humanistic lines. Colet had come in contact with the New Learning while studying in Florence and had returned to England an ardent disciple of humanism. He was ably supported in his efforts to spread humanistic thought by the renowned Netherlands humanist scholar Erasmus, who taught at Cambridge University from 1510 to 1514. Erasmus encouraged Colet in his work at St. Paul's School and wrote books for use in the school, among which were such famous ones as his phrase book *De Copia*, in Latin, a book of proverbs; his *Adagio*, in both Greek and Latin; and his *Colloquies*, or Latin dialogues. St. Paul's School under

such competent leadership became a powerful influence in the spread of humanism to other secondary schools in England. Most of the grammar schools then in existence became humanistic by the end of the sixteenth century, and most new schools organized during this century began as centers of humanist study.

The humanist movement in northern and western Europe emphasized the scientific approach to learning and the rich heritage of the classical literature of the older Greek and Roman cultures. Coupled with this was the religious and moral interest in social betterment that found expression in the spirit of the Reformation. This interest directed attention to more careful study of the Scriptures by the individual as a means of understanding the spirit of early Christianity. A thorough knowledge of Greek as a prerequisite to the reading of the New Testament in the original gave the study of Greek grammar an important place in the curriculum of the secondary school. Since northern humanism was closely associated with the Reformation, religion continued to be an important part of most humanistic grammar schools. The catechism was a standard part of the English secondary schools throughout the sixteenth century. The principal effect of the humanist movement upon the secondary schools of western Europe was to make the study of ancient Latin and Greek languages and literatures the basic subjects of the curriculum.

As one writer has pointed out, there were three stages through which the Renaissance movement passed. The first stage was that of a passionate enthusiasm for Latin and Greek antiquity and its literature, with a natural interest in creative activity. The second stage saw the scholars of Italy devoted to a careful, systematic study of the older cultures of Greece and Rome, their languages and literatures. The third and final stage degenerated into an empty formalism, with the major concern that of reproducing the style and Latin usage of Cicero. "Unfortunately for northern culture, it was Humanism, in this third stage, which exerted the greatest influence upon the readjustment of the schools." [1]

It is not surprising, therefore, that by the close of the sixteenth century much of the spirit of the humanism that had found its way

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[1] For a brief background picture of the humanist movement and its implications that affected our early educational development in America see Frederick Eby and Charles Flynn Arrowood, *The Development of Modern Education*, Chap. II. Above reference p. 50. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

Few, if any, of these grammar schools were wholly supported as free schools from the endowments provided in their establishment; tuition was an important means of revenue for most of them. Although the foundations might provide for some pupils to attend free, most pupils paid tuition. Historically the secondary schools of England were schools for the well-to-do or privileged classes. It was not assumed that children of the masses should aspire to the kind of education provided in the typical grammar schools, which had as its primary purpose the preparation of leaders for Church, state, and the professions, that is, preparation for entrance to the universities. The degree of selectivity and the emphasis upon the ultimate purpose of the school, as would be expected, depended in some measure on the character of the founders.

Germany. Secondary education in Germany was influenced in the sixteenth century by the humanist movement, which had infiltrated into northern Europe from Italy, and by the Reformation. The Brethren of the Common Life in the fifteenth century had established centers of humanism in the Netherlands; the most outstanding of these was located at Deventer, Holland. Many famous humanist leaders, such as Erasmus, who contributed so much to the spread of humanist education in England, and Agricola and Sturm, who became the spearheads of humanism in Germany, had studied in these schools. The religious Reformation, which came to a head under Martin Luther, had a marked influence on the development of secondary education in Germany.

Luther shared with the Brethren a conviction that even the humblest peasant should be able to read and understand the Scriptures. He accepted the new humanistic learning because it emphasized the thorough study of Greek and Latin, and even Hebrew, the keys to unlock the Scriptures in the original. He therefore encouraged Latin grammar schools in Germany through his brilliant friend and colleague in the Reformation Movement, Melanchthon, also a disciple of humanism, who undertook the establishment of a system of Latin classical schools in Germany. Luther firmly believed that advanced schools should focus their attention upon the education of the leaders in the church, for the other learned professions, and for successful administration of the various civil offices of the town and state. The ordinances of church and school throughout the sixteenth century expressed this dominant purpose of education. The Church Ordi-

nance of Württemberg in 1559 provided for Latin schools in towns, cities, and the more important villages in them, "because well-trained, wise, learned, able, and God-fearing men are needed for the holy office of preacher, for secular leadership, for temporal offices and government and for management of homes." The School Ordinances of Saxony in 1528 and again in 1580 expressed the same idea in almost identical language. Unlike the English schools, the German schools were supported and controlled by the state or municipalities in conjunction with the church. In most instances these secondary schools charged tuition as well.

Because of the religious spirit emphasized in the teaching of the Brethren of the Common Life, combined with their wholehearted acceptance of humanistic learning, their schools had a profound influence upon the development of secondary education in Germany during the Reformation period. As was true in England, there were many secondary schools in Germany in the sixteenth century teaching Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, with emphasis upon the elements of Latin and Grammar. As teachers who had been educated in the Netherlands under humanistic influences entered these schools, they infused into them the spirit of the new learning. Through the work of such teachers humanism supplanted or greatly modified the older traditional school curriculums.

The outstanding humanist school in Germany in the sixteenth century was developed at Strassburg under the leadership of Johann Sturm. In 1536 he took over the municipal Latin school, reorganized it, and gave it the name *Gymnasium* from the Greek term *gymnasium*. During the 45 years that Sturm was at the head of this school, he made it the most famous classical school in Europe. It became the standard pattern for the future classical schools of Germany. It also bequeathed its name to the modern classical secondary school so well known in the twentieth century. "He fixed both the type and the name—*Gymnasium*—of the German classical secondary school, which today is not very materially changed from the form and character which Sturm gave it." [3] Sturm was in sympathy with *the objectives of the Reformation and shared Luther's interest in* education. However, Luther was concerned with the Latin and Greek classics mainly for their religious values, whereas Sturm was

concerned with the ancient classics primarily for their literary value. As he said:

> The end to be accomplished by teaching is threefold; embracing piety, knowledge and the art of speaking. . . . Knowledge and purity and elegance of diction should become the aim of scholarship, and toward its attainment both teachers and pupils should sedulously bend their every effort.[6]

Sturm's *Gymnasium* was organized on the basis of ten classes— one for each year. Each class had a definite curriculum and program to be met, which, in turn, was carefully interrelated on a graduated basis of achievement. Each class had a separate teacher, roughly similar in plan to our scheme of graded elementary schools. Boys entered the *Gymnasium* at about the age of six. After the work in this school, they were eligible to enter the university. The curriculum included religion, Greek and Latin grammar and literature, and logic. The plan of the curriculum for the ten classes is given briefly here because of the tremendous influence of this school not only upon German secondary schools but upon schools of other countries as well:

TENTH CLASS: Study of the alphabet; Latin declensions and conjugation; reading and writing simple Latin; the German catechism.

NINTH CLASS: Acquisition of a Latin vocabulary through memorizing word lists, declensions and conjugations of Latin nouns and verbs.

EIGHTH CLASS: Continued vocabulary drill; mastery of the eight parts of speech; reading of selected letters of Cicero with emphasis upon the grammatical construction of the language; exercises in style gradually supplanting vocabulary drill.

SEVENTH CLASS: Study of Latin Syntax from Cicero's letters; exercises in style; translation of the catechism into Latin on Sunday.

SIXTH CLASS: Translation of Cicero's letters into German; begin study of Greek; attention to elegance in Latin style; Saturday and Sunday translation into Latin of catechism and other religious materials.

FIFTH CLASS: Study of Latin poetry, scansion, meter and verse, mythology, Cicero's *Cato* and *Laelius*, and the *Eclogues* of Virgil; completion of encyclopedias of Latin words; Greek continued; continued study of style and beginning versification; extempore translation of passages of great elegance into German and back into Latin; Epistles of Paul translated in this manner on Saturday and Sunday.

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[6] Henry Barnard, *German Teachers and Educators*, Hartford: Brown and Gross, 1878, p. 195.

FOURTH CLASS: Latin and Greek grammar completed—pupils now able to speak these languages; Cicero's *Oration Against Verres* and Horace studied; Greek continued; practice in style, reviews, and St. Paul's Epistles.

THIRD CLASS: Rhetoric begun, based, in Latin, on Cicero's speech for Cluentis, and on Demosthenes in Greek; reading of the first book of the *Iliad*, and of the *Odyssey*; Greek orations translated into Greek and back into Latin; the odes of Pindar and Horace changed into a different meter; style practices for improvement; Comedies of Plautus acted.

SECOND CLASS: Greek poets and orators and Latin authors interpreted; logic and rhetoric studied, daily exercises in style, and the writing of short dissertations; plays of Aristophanes, Euripides, or Sophocles studied and acted.

FIRST CLASS: Continued study of logic and rhetoric, and their rules applied to Demosthenes and Cicero; study of Virgil and Homer completed; Thucydides and Sallust translated in writing.

It is clear that in Sturm's *Gymnasium* the emphasis was upon style rather than meaning, as was true in the Latin grammar schools of England. Such a school could have little practical value for the masses. It was a highly restricted school for the privileged, as were similar schools throughout Germany. That it attracted students of this class is evidenced in the claim that at one time this school enrolled 200 noblemen, 24 counts and barons, and three princes. Students from all over Europe went to study there. The educational ideas Sturm developed in his *Gymnasium* influenced secondary education throughout Europe and even in America.

France. During the sixteenth century France did not develop a system of secondary education comparable to that found in Germany or England. The humanist movement that had been so stimulating to the growth of secondary education in Germany and England found it hard to gain a foothold in France. However, in France, surrounded as it was by humanistic influences, there was constant pressure to establish secondary schools on the pattern of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands or of those that had developed throughout Germany. A number of *collèges* such as the *Collège de Guyenne*, modernized in 1534, offered work in Latin grammar and literature not too much unlike that offered in the humanist schools of other sections of northern Europe. The *Collège de Guyenne* contained ten classes in secondary work and an

additional two years in philosophy. The last two years overlapped in part the work of the university. The Jesuits established schools in France in the last half of the sixteenth century that were essentially Latin grammar schools. These secondary schools expanded rapidly and became the leading agencies of secondary education in France for nearly 200 years. In 1598 France approved new educational statutes requiring that students use only Latin speech in the *collèges* (secondary schools). The general course of study for the *collèges* further required the study of Latin and Greek grammar and literature. The curriculum appeared to be similar to the Latin classical school curriculum under humanist influences in other countries. Pupils entered these *collèges* at about nine years of age and remained for five years. Students well grounded in Greek and Latin could go on to a two-year course in philosophy devoted to a study of "logic, physics, metaphysics and ethics of Aristotle." This plan represents a scheme of secondary education that clearly distinguished between secondary and university education in France.

Netherlands and Switzerland. A consideration of the educational developments in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century would be incomplete without a brief notice of the combined influences of humanism and the Reformation upon the institutions of education in these countries. American colonial life was greatly influenced by the experiences of the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians who had been refugees in Geneva or Leyden, and those who had emigrated to England from Holland and Switzerland.

Switzerland had two great leaders in educational reform, Zwingli of Zurich and Calvin of Geneva. Both began as leaders of the Reformation movement in Switzerland; both were avowed humanists. Zwingli, greatly influenced by Erasmus, combined with his religious reforms a reorganization of the schools of Zurich along humanistic lines. He advocated a plan of education for youths similar to Luther's in Germany. Because of his early death his educational reforms were overshadowed by those of Calvin, who centered his religious and educational reform activities in Geneva. There he reorganized the Latin schools of the city into a *Gymnasium* resembling that of Strassburg, where he had been a refugee and where he had come in contact with the educational program of the *Gymnasium* under the leadership of Sturm. This new school was a humanist, classical,

Latin preparatory school. It gave a larger place to religious instruction than did the *Gymnasium* of Germany. This school consisted of seven classes under the supervision of the city and supported by tuition fees. The *Gymnasium*, along with the Academy, a higher institution of learning established by Calvin, became famous throughout Europe, enrolling students from all countries. The Academy became the model for the organization of the University of Leyden, Holland; the University of Edinburgh, Scotland; and Emanuel College, Cambridge University; and it is said to have influenced the organization of Harvard University in America. Calvin, whose religious and educational ideas, closely intertwined, greatly influenced educational developments in England and America, became one of the most influential figures in his day.

The influence of the Brethren of the Common Life and Calvinist educational ideas both emphasized the importance of education and its humanistic outlook in the Netherlands' Reformation. Three types of schools were developed. The first, the *common*, or *public*, *schools*, were schools for the masses in harmony with the spirit of the Reformation and humanist leaders who believed every person should be able to read. The second, the *classical schools*, or *Gymnasiums*, followed the pattern of Sturm's *Gymnasium* of Strassburg except that an enriched curriculum was often offered including French, mathematics, and philosophy. These schools were under the control of the municipalities. The university crowned the educational system. The University of Leyden was recognized as the outstanding one of some fourteen universities of Holland. It became a center of great popularity with the English among the national groups; some 2,000 students of English nationality enrolled in the University of Leyden during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Since Holland had proclaimed itself tolerant of all religions, it soon became an asylum for the persecuted of all countries. During the religious struggles in England, many found sanctuary in Holland as well as in Switzerland. Some 10,000 English are estimated to have taken asylum in Holland at the time of the persecutions. It is further estimated that upwards of 100,000 people emigrated from the Netherlands to England and Scotland; many of these became the early colonists of America. With them they brought educational

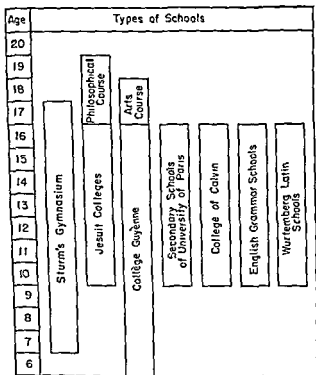ideas they had come in contact with in these educational centers of Europe.[5]

FIGURE 1. PRINCIPAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS DEVELOPED IN EUROPE, 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

What are some of the major European educational developments?

Much attention has been given to the development of secondary education in Europe prior to the beginning of the colonial period in America, because it was out of this *milieu* of European educational thought and practice that the patterns of early colonial sec-

[5] W. E. Griffis, *The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic*. Boston: DeWolfe, Fisk & Company, 1891.

ondary education were largely derived. The interplay of the educational ideas and organizational schemes of elementary and secondary education between Europe and America is in evidence throughout the subsequent history of the peoples involved.

France. Little change occurred in secondary education in France from the establishment of the *collèges* in the sixteenth century until the Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century. The Jesuit schools dominated French secondary education with their highly classical, Latin, aristocratic form of education until the closing of these schools in 1762 by the French government. Dissatisfaction with the classical type of secondary education offered in French schools finally culminated in 1793 with the suppression of all endowed schools and *collèges* and the confiscation of their property. A decree of 1795 set up central schools (*écoles centrales*) under government control. These schools were to be six years in length and enroll youth at the age of twelve. The curriculum was to consist of drawing, natural history, ancient languages, modern languages by permission, mathematics, physics, chemistry, grammar, *belles lettres*, history, and legislation.

The new central schools created by the Republic of France were as shortlived as was the Republic. In 1802 Napoleon devised a national system of education. By the Law of 1802 two types of secondary schools were established—the *lycée* and the communal *collège*, both of which prepared youth for the higher institutions of learning. Of these the *lycée* was the more important, and was under direct government control. It corresponded to the former *collège*. The government provided buildings and some scholarships for its support. The local administration was required to provide furniture and equipment. The main source of support was derived from tuition fees and income from the boarding houses for students. The curriculum was to include ancient languages, provision for modern languages, logic, rhetoric, ethics, *belles lettres*, mathematics, physical science, and drawing. The communal *collège* might be established by municipalities or by individuals. These schools were supported locally, except for some government grants, and by tuition fees. The curriculum of the communal *collèges* was in general the same as that of the *lycée* but less complete. In 1806 a law was passed providing for a national system of school administration; and in 1808, by Imperial Decree, Napoleon created the University of

France with complete jurisdiction over all education, primary, secondary, and higher. The University of France was not a university as we think of it but a governing body similar to our state departments of education. The *lycées* and *collèges* were restricted to the upper classes and were college-preparatory, as is evidenced by the tuition charges and their curriculum offerings. The curriculum of the *lycées*, prescribed in 1809 and applied to the *collèges* in 1812, designated "those studies that are needed to prepare students to enter the faculties." For the first five years Latin, Greek, French, history, mythology, geography, and mathematics were studied; in the sixth year logic, metaphysics, ethics, optics, and astronomy, or mathematics, natural history, physics, and chemistry were given. In 1814 a seventh year devoted mainly to philosophy was added.

The *lycées* and *collèges* were aristocratic schools designed to prepare upper-class youths or an occasional brilliant youth of humble rank for the university. There was a growing demand for a liberalization of educational opportunity for the masses. This found expression in the Law of 1833, which created a higher primary school to be added to the regular elementary school for the masses. The curriculum was more adapted to meet the needs of the occupational groups. This school was frequently housed in one of the communal *collèges*, but, like commercial and vocational curriculums in the earlier high schools of America, it was not generally popular. Sporadic efforts to create a satisfactory secondary school for the masses continued to be ineffective before World War I. In 1880 *collèges* and *lycées* for girls were established, but they did not lead to admission to the university. However, they did provide advanced educational opportunity for girls at the secondary level in the state school system. In 1902 the secondary school was divided into classical and modern courses leading to the same degree. The student had the opportunity to select a classical or scientific course. The length of the secondary course was seven years. This was a move in the direction of popular demands but was still unsatisfactory as a democratic plan of education.

French secondary education as it developed before 1918 maintained its classical tradition. The *lycées* and *collèges* had changed little from the classical mold of the mid-sixteenth-century *collège*, although they were forced in later years to make some concessions to changing conditions. A well organized, highly articulated, and

leaders, however, have unremittingly wrestled with the problem of educational reforms that would realize the democratic ideals which came out of World War I and which experienced a positive resurgence with World War II. Besides, many Frenchmen are convinced that among the contributory factors in the defeat of France were weaknesses in the educational system.

As early as January, 1944 a group that became known as the Algiers Commission was set up. It made many proposals that would democratize the educational system of France. It was followed by the Langevin Commission, which formulated a revolutionary educational plan embodying many of the ideas of the Algiers Commission. The principle of the *école unique* advocated since World War I was carried out in a carefully developed plan that unified education (made it free through the university), proposed compulsory education to age 18, abolished class distinctions in the schools, and modernized classroom methods and the curriculum. The Delbos Education Bill of 1950 in general accepted the educational principles of the previous commissions but was a conservative compromise with the bold plan of the Langevin Commission.

To date only minor aspects of these far-reaching educational reform ideas have penetrated France's educational program. If and when France finally adopts a plan of educational reform, it would appear from the thinking and recommendations of its educational leaders that such a reform will embrace many democratic features familiar to American educators.[6]

Germany. Although the *Gymnasium*, as developed under the leadership of Johann Sturm during the second half of the sixteenth century, remained the principal form of secondary education in Germany until the nineteenth century, it was not the only source of secondary education for German youth. The social, political, and religious unrest of these years had a profound influence upon educational development, an influence that could not but touch all phases of the educational life of Germany. Even the *Gymnasium*, jealously guarded as it was by the upper classes, did not entirely escape. As might be expected, there was an undercurrent of disat-

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[6] For a brief clear description of the educational recommendations that have been made by French educational leaders in recent years see Donald W. Miles, *Recent Reforms in French Secondary Education.* New York. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953.

isfaction with the restricted nature of the classical *Gymnasium*. Interest in science and politics and the tremendous influence of French court life upon the nobility of Germany had led to the establishment of secondary schools of a more practical type. Schools known as *Ritterakademien*, knightly or courtly academies, sprang up throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These schools catered to the nobility and offered a broader and more practical curriculum for these future rulers and officials. In these schools ancient languages were either eliminated or drastically de-emphasized. More attention was given to modern languages, science, mathematics, surveying, architecture, military techniques, history, geography, manners and customs of court life, music, dancing, and physical training. Students began to imitate the manners of the nobles, and assumed the conventional dress of the gentleman rather than the garb of the scholar. Swords were carried and dueling became the fashion of these schools.

About this time, in 1695, Francke, a member of the faculty of the University of Halle, began two schools: one for nobles, which stressed science rather than ancient languages, called a *Pädagogium*, and the second, a Latin school, known as a *Gymnasium*, later approved as such by the government. The curriculum of the *Gymnasium* included the traditional subjects of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew with the emphasis upon their use in the interpretation of the Scriptures. To this was added history, geography, music, painting, physics, botany, astronomy, and mathematics. The *Pädagogium* offered the courses taught in the Latin school with the additional subjects of French, astronomy, and mineralogy. Provision was also made for a botanical garden; a natural history museum; laboratories for chemistry, physics, and anatomy; and equipment for courses in mechanics, glass blowing, copper engraving, and woodcutting.

The work of Francke had a very stimulating effect upon the thinking of educational leaders in the eighteenth century both in Germany and America. Many students trained under Francke emigrated to America where they set up schools in Pennsylvania and Georgia similar to those conducted by Francke in Halle. Illustrative of the character of these leaders were Count Zinzendorf, leader of the Moravians, who had been a student in the *Pädagogium* at Halle and lived in Francke's home; Bishop Spangenberg, another Moravian leader, who had been a colleague of Francke's in the Uni-

versity of Halle and an inspector of the Latin School in Francke's orphanages; and Muhlenberg, who had been associated with Francke at Halle and was a leader of the Lutherans around Philadelphia about 1750. These men, and scores of others who had been influenced by Francke's educational activities, vitally influenced education in America where they labored.

In 1747 Julius Hecker, who had been a teacher in Francke's *Pädagogium*, set up a new school in Berlin that reflected the practical ideas of Francke and others who were advocating an education better fitted for those who were not interested in the scholarly professions but were destined to be leaders in politics, business, and the practical applications of science and mathematics to the affairs of living. This he called the Economic-Mathematical Real School. This was the first German *Realschule*. It offered courses in religion, ethics, German, French, Latin, history, drawing, mechanics, geography, architecture, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, bookkeeping, and physiology. The curriculum was strikingly similar to that offered in the *Pädagogium* of Francke. Later this school became the *Royal Realschule* of Berlin.

These schools were symptomatic of a struggle that grew in intensity and has characterized German secondary educational development throughout its history. Continued growth in technology, trades, business, and governmental activities—the natural concomitant of the rapid expansion and increasing diversification of the interests of an industrial society—not only opened up, but also required various degrees of, technical and specialized training of a secondary school nature that the *Gymnasium* did not provide. Unlike our comprehensive American secondary schools, which generally try to provide for a variety of educational needs within one school by differentiated curriculums, the German plan has been to create a new school to meet a new need. The conflicts that have arisen in the effort either to modify existing schools or to create new ones have resulted in a confused array of new and revised secondary schools.

Certain of these schools became dominant types of secondary institutions and represent the major direction of development in Germany from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1918. First and foremost in this group stood the *Gymnasium* and *Progymnasium*. The lineal descendant of the Latin school, the *Gymnasium* consistently maintained its classical program and continued to be

the school of the elite. It was the favored preparatory school for
the universities. In 1788 a Leaving Examination was provided to be
given in each secondary school qualified to prepare students for the
university. The successful candidates in these examinations were
granted certificates of admission to the universities without the
necessity of taking the university entrance examinations. The posi-
tion of the Gymnasium was strengthened by this regulation. Be-
cause of opposition this regulation was not effective until 1812,
when it was reinstated and strictly enforced. In 1834 the university
examinations were completely abolished and the Leaving Examina-
tions were made the sole basis of entrance to the universities. All
standard nine-year classical schools were classified as Gymnasium.
A virtual monopoly of the preparation of candidates for the uni-
versities, therefore, was given to the Gymnasium. To add to the
attractiveness of this school the graduates were privileged to reduce
the two-year military requirement to one year; likewise graduates
of the Gymnasium were eligible for preferred civil positions in
the government. Those secondary schools which could not qualify
as Gymnasium were permitted either to offer the first six years of
the standard program and be known as Progymnasium, or to shift
from ancient to modern languages and become middle class schools
—Bürgerschulen or Realschulen.

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nasium was proposed in 1816. The studies consisted of Latin, Greek,
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emphasis upon the different subjects in descending order as listed,
with major attention given to Latin and least to science. Hebrew,
French, and other languages were made optional. There was a defi-
nite tendency to emphasize the classical nature of these schools at
the expense of science or more modern subjects. In 1837 the school
program was specifically reduced from ten to a standard nine years.
Latin was further stressed in the curriculum, being assigned 86 hours
out of a total of 280 hours for the entire nine-year program. Greek,
Latin, and mathematics took up 161 hours, or much over half of the
total school time of the Gymnasium. The curriculum of the Gym-
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German to a central position, with more time devoted to recent history and religion. The Reform of 1901 made little change in the *Gymnasium* except to strengthen the place of Latin in the curriculum and to emphasize the classical nature of the school.

The *Gymnasium* and *Progymnasium* were tuition schools. The average German could not pay tuition to these schools. The classical nature of the curriculum did not make these schools attractive to those who had to depend upon a practical kind of education as a means to livelihood. The tradition of this *Gymnasium* from the days of its development by Sturm had been that of a class school for those privileged by birth or through economic advantage. Like the *lycée* of France, the *Gymnasium* of Germany maintained its dominant and aristocratic position unbroken for nearly 400 years.

The efforts of Francke, Hecker, and others to develop a school with a curriculum less classical than that of the *Gymnasium* found further expression in 1859. At that time the Prussian Minister, Von Bethmann Hollweg, gave official recognition of the value of the *Realschule* in German education. These schools were placed under the supervision of the same authority responsible for the *Gymnasium*. There were two types of schools: the *Realschulen erster Ordnung*, a nine-year school offering courses in religion, German, Latin, French, English, history, geography, mathematics, and science and privileged to give the Leaving Examination; and the *Realschulen zweiter Ordnung*, a six-year school without Latin. Successful passing of the Leaving Examination in the *Realschulen erster Ordnung* carried the privilege of entering some of the lesser civil positions and the right to one year rather than two of military training. These were not vocational schools, but were more practical general culture schools as were the schools of Francke and Hecker before them. The major difference between the *Realschule erster Ordnung* and the *Gymnasium* lay in the substitution of English for Greek, which was so highly valued in the *Gymnasium*, and in the greater emphasis upon science. The *Realschule erster Ordnung's* right to have its graduates enter the university came in 1870, when students who passed the Leaving Examinations were permitted to enter the universities to study mathematics, foreign language, and science as preparation for teaching. In 1882 the name *Realschule erster Ordnung* was changed to *Realgymnasium*, and its curriculum was brought close to that of the *Gymnasium* by more emphasis

upon Latin in the former, and by more time given to mathematics, science, history, geography, and French in the later. Because the *Realgymnasium* had become very similar to the *Gymnasium*, except that it did not emphasize Latin or offer Greek and emphasized ancient languages instead of science, it drew fire from extreme radicals and conservatives. The conservatives looked upon it as a threat of an inferior school to the supremacy of the *Gymnasium*; the radicals considered it another *Gymnasium* and, therefore, a useless luxury. They wanted it abolished. The conference called by the Kaiser in 1890 recommended that the *Realgymnasium* be abolished. The regulations of 1892 retained it. The curriculum of the *Gymnasium*, mainly by reduced emphasis upon Greek and Latin, lessened the difference between these two schools. The decree of 1900 declared all schools to be of the same value for general culture. Students of all schools were to be admitted to the university under certain conditions. The Reform of 1901 provided that the essential difference between the *Gymnasium* and the *Realgymnasium* was that the former emphasized Greek and Latin, whereas the latter emphasized Latin and modern foreign languages.

Many German educators had sought to facilitate easy transfer between the three nine-year secondary schools. As early as 1878 a type of school founded on what was known as the Altona plan had been set up with a common foundation for entrance to both the *Realgymnasium* and the *Realschule*. A similar type of foundation school under the Frankfurt plan was begun in 1890 to qualify candidates for all three major secondary schools. These schools (*Reformschule*), although the Conference of 1892 had refused to give them official sanction, grew in popularity.

The *Realprogymnasium* was officially recognized in the regulations of the Reform of 1892. It was a six-year school offering the first six years' work of the *Realgymnasium*. At the close of the six years' program, students could transfer to the *Realgymnasium* for the last three years' work. Exemption from one year of military training was now granted to those of the *Realprogymnasium* who successfully completed the Leaving Examinations. The six-year *Realprogymnasium* held exactly the same relationship to the nine-year *Realgymnasium* as the six-year *Progymnasium* did to the nine-year *Gymnasium*.

The *Realschule zweiter Ordnung* grew in popularity after the

Franco-Prussian War. Some of these schools lengthened their courses to nine years, and in 1878 the government recognized them. Graduates of the nine-year schools were admitted to the technical schools. To both the six- and nine-year schools the privilege of the one-year military service was granted. The nine-year school came to be known as the *Oberrealschule* and the title of the six-year school was shortened to *Realschule*. The graduates of this school could enter the *Oberrealschule* to complete the three advance years of that school. The *Oberrealschule* was again recognized in the regulations of 1892 as one of the three types of nine-year schools and it shared with the other nine-year schools the common basis of courses in German, history, and religion and the admission of its students to some phases of university study. In 1900 a decree declared all schools of equal cultural value. In 1901 the *Oberrealschule* was granted equal rights with the other schools for admission of its students to the universities without examinations, except in the faculty of theology, which was reserved as the privilege of the *Gymnasium* only.

At the time of the establishment of the new German Republic in 1919, Germany had established three pairs of secondary schools under full state control: (1) The highly classical, aristocratic nine-year *Gymnasium* that had lasted for nearly four centuries with relatively little change in its basic nature and purpose, and a shorter six-year *Gymnasium* offering the first six years' work of the *Gymnasium*; (2) The *Realgymnasium*, very similar to the *Gymnasium* in its nine-year curriculum except that it emphasized Latin and modern languages rather than Latin and Greek, and its counterpart, the six-year *Realprogymnasium*, an exact duplicate of the first six years of the *Realgymnasium*; (3) The *Oberrealschule*, a nine-year school with emphasis upon modern languages, mathematics, and science, and a six-year *Realschule*, approximately a duplication of the first six years of the *Oberrealschule*. A study of the programs of these schools reveals how much secondary education in Germany remained wedded to the old classical tradition. The struggle for a democratic program of secondary education for the masses had yet to be won.

These six schools were for boys only; girls had still to win recognition in the main stream of secondary education in Germany. However, they were not unprovided for in educational opportunity

beyond the elementary school. Interest in advanced education for girls took form in the educational work of Francke and his disciples Semler and Hecker. Francke organized among his schools at Halle a *Gynecaeum* for the daughters of the nobles that became the inspiration for similar schools over Germany. Most efforts to establish schools for girls were private before the twentieth century. Municipal authorities here and there made sporadic attempts to provide educational opportunities for girls. It is estimated that more than 50 public secondary *Höhere Tochterschulen* schools for girls under municipal auspices were in existence by 1840, and that by 1860 there were over 100. These schools taught religion, German, French, handiwork, and some science. In 1872 Prussia provided a ten-year school for girls beginning at the age of six. This program was so adjusted and extended in 1894 that the work offered girls became essentially equivalent to that provided for boys.

It was not until 1908 that definite provision was made for the establishment of a secondary school for girls. At this time a school known as the *Lyzeum* was created, with a ten-year course in which pupils enrolled for an elementary course of three years followed by a seven-year course in secondary education. The program consisted of German, French, English, religion, history, geography, science, mathematics, drawing, music, and handiwork. This school was followed by two advanced schools, one, the *Frauenschule*, was a two-year course in practical arts and the continuation of general subjects; the other, *Höhere Lehrerimensenninar*, was a four-year school for the preparation of elementary school teachers. A second plan of secondary education for girls who wished to qualify for the Leaving Examinations was called the *Studienanstalt*. This consisted of three schools paralleling those for boys; namely, *Oberrealschulen*, *Realgymnasium*, and *Gymnasium*. These schools had one important organizational difference from those of the boys: the *Lyzeum* became the common core of preparation for all girls. At the end of the seventh year of the *Lyzeum*, at the age of 13, the girl who wished to follow the six-year program of the *Gymnasium* or *Realgymnasium* transferred to the *Studienanstalt* and began the study of Latin. The girls who wished to follow the scientific course of the *Oberrealschulen* transferred to that division of the *Studienanstalt* at the age of 14, following the eighth year of the *Lyzeum*. The fact that these schools were tuition schools limited their usefulness

emphasized. German nationalism accounted for 37 per cent of the total school time. Religion was given a minor place in the time allotment of the school. The *Gymnasium* was still permitted to offer Greek and Latin, but in many respects its curriculum reflected that of the now major secondary school of the Nazis.

The schools for girls, which had paralleled closely the schools for boys, were more drastically limited. Only two types of schools for girls were allowed—the *Oberschule* and the *Aufbauschule*. The *Oberschule* permitted a choice in the last three years of language emphasis or home economics. Physical education was emphasized, as for the boys. Only English was offered as a foreign language and it was required. German subjects and those particularly appropriate to women, such as Home Economics, Handwork, and Home and Family Services, were stressed. Little difference existed between the two schools.

The democratic emphasis that had gained momentum over the years appeared to have been lost in the Nazis' régime. There appeared to be less interest in making education at the secondary and higher levels easily available to all. It was made more difficult to move from the elementary to the secondary school and from there to the universities or higher schools. Coeducation was frowned upon. Girls were virtually eliminated from the universities—they were admitted to the *Gymnasium* only on consent of the *Reichsminister*. Latin, required by the universities for admission, was almost eliminated from the girls' secondary schools.

World War II came just as the Nazis were putting into effect these drastic reorganization plans for German youth education. It is interesting to see the contrast in the programs of secondary education as developed prior to 1933 and the changes proposed and in partial effect at the beginning of 1939 when World War II struck.

Following the war Germany was divided into zones of influence. Russia assumed responsibility, politically and educationally, for that part which became known as East Germany; France, England, and the United States jointly assumed control of what became known as West Germany, with each nation accepting responsibility for the rehabilitation of education in its respective zone of influence. The countries concerned sent educators to direct the reorganization of education in the German schools along more democratic lines.

With the reversion of political and educational responsibility to

the newly established West German government there has been a natural tendency for the schools to modify imposed educational ideas and to regress somewhat in the direction of the former German educational system. In the years immediately ahead it will be of interest to observe the pattern of education that the new Germany will evolve.

England. Throughout most of the seventeenth century secondary education in England followed the pattern set by the Latin grammar schools of the preceding century. Altogether it is estimated that more than 550 grammar schools were founded or refounded in England between the re-establishment of St. Paul's School, London in 1510, and the beginning of the eighteenth century. These schools were closely modeled after St. Paul's School, with its emphasis on both humanism and religion. After the Established Church came into power in England these schools became more narrowly uniform in their emphasis upon religious instruction. The efforts of the Established Church to prescribe the doctrinal teaching of the schools and to safeguard these schools from the influence of large groups of religious Nonconformists who had come in contact with the ideas of Reformation leaders of the Continent, such as Calvin, Zwingli, Luther, or who had felt the stimulus of such intellectual centers as Geneva and Leyden, led to more and more repressive measures to insure the orthodoxy of the teachers in the grammar schools. This struggle for complete domination of the religious character of these grammar schools led to the notorious Act of Uniformity of 1662. This law required affirmation of loyalty to the liturgy of the Established Church on the part of every schoolmaster. Three years later another law forbade Dissenters to teach under penalty of a fine of 40 pounds. Even children of Dissenters and Nonconformists no longer were permitted to attend grammar schools. If it is remembered that it was from these nonconforming religious groups that most early New England colonists came, the student can understand and appreciate the educational characteristics of our early colonial Latin grammar schools. This drastic legislation resulted in the establishment of hundreds of secondary schools for the children of Nonconformists. These schools were influenced by the ideas of John Milton, himself a Nonconformist, who had advocated a more practical type of secondary education. Milton had given expression to his ideas in the creation

of a school he called an Academy. Thus academies, clandestinely taught, sprang up all over England under the leadership of Nonconformist clergy. These academies and their emphasis upon a more practical type of education gave impetus to the academy movement in America.

No major changes took place in secondary education for the next century and a half. After 1850 a slow awakening of a democratic consciousness began to be felt in England and gained tremendous impetus toward the turn of the century. This had its repercussions in governmental attitudes toward education for the masses. Gradually the reluctance of the government to assume responsibility for secondary education gave way. In 1852 the Department of Science and Art, created in 1852, began the establishment of secondary schools under government subsidy with special emphasis upon the practical applications of the sciences to industry. By 1872 almost a thousand of these schools had been established. This type of school was further encouraged by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, which gave County and Town Council authority to levy taxes for the support of this form of education. As a result of this stimulus, by 1910–11 there were in existence 36 Technical Institutions, 110 Day Technical Schools, 218 Art Schools, and 7,422 Evening Schools. The Endowed Schools Acts of 1869 and 1874 represented a further evidence of state concern for secondary education. These laws set up a Commission with responsibility for improving the management of and instruction in the endowed grammar schools. The Acts of 1888 and 1889 created county and borough councils and a central Board of Education to unify the administration of state-aided elementary and secondary education under governmental auspices. The Education Act of 1902 was an important landmark in the development of a national system of education; it unified control of both elementary and secondary education. By this Act the counties and county boroughs were made responsible for the provision of adequate facilities for secondary education in their areas, as well as the proper coordination of all educational activities within their authority "after consultation with the Board of Education." Private or endowed secondary schools, at their discretion, were privileged to accept governmental aid but only on the condition that they *submit to governmental inspection and conform to governmental school plans.* Otherwise

no effort was made to change the character of the work done in the private or endowed schools.

With the beginning of World War II four and possibly five categories of recognized secondary schools were flourishing in England.[7] It should be kept clearly in mind that this classification is based upon the accepted connotation of "secondary education" in England, which is restricted to those schools whose curriculum is essentially academic. This classification does not include those schools which serve the adolescent period with a practical type of education. The trade schools and central schools, for example, which came to hold such an important place in the service of youth, were not considered a legitimate part of secondary education.

(1) "PUBLIC" SCHOOLS: When one speaks of secondary education in England the famous "public" schools immediately flash into mind: Eton, Rugby, and Harrow are the best known. These are part of some 150 endowed schools that are recognized for membership eligibility in the Headmasters Conference. Certain standards of eligibility are maintained for this group; among them minimum enrollment, independence of the headmaster and governing body, satisfactory showing on the school-certificate examination, and the encouragement of a goodly number to attend Oxford or Cambridge Universities. These schools, generally boarding schools with day pupils, charge relatively high tuition rates ranging upwards of $1,500. They are private schools, highly selective in character and regarded as snobbish schools of the upper classes.

Until recent times the curriculum was classical after the best ancient traditions. The "public" schools, although still giving emphasis to the classics, have been forced by the changing world, the inevitable influence of which they cannot escape, to modernize their curriculum in the direction of modern languages and the subjects more appropriate to the contemporary economic world in which their graduates are supposed to become leaders. Contrary to popular notions, academic scholarship is not the thing for which these "public" schools are particularly famous. The familiar term "playing fields of Eton" suggests the amount of attention given to

[7] I. L. Kandel classifies the secondary schools as follows: (1) Public schools; (2) Day schools; (3) Council schools; and (4) Private schools. See his *History of Secondary Education*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, pp. 357 ff. and *Comparative Education*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933, pp. 641 ff.

athletics and sports as well as to other social activities. The purpose of these schools is not primarily scholarly but to make their graduates gentlemen in the best sense of the word, healthy, able to work together and maintain correct social standards, and trained as leaders. The frequently quoted quip concerning these "public" schools may serve to throw some light on their earlier character: "They are called *English* because they teach Latin and Greek; *Public* because they are private; and *Schools* because no small part of the time is allotted to athletics." The boys enter schools specially designed to qualify them for admission to the "public" schools. Upon graduation from the public schools they enter Oxford or Cambridge, the army, or prominent government posts. A few such schools are now organized for girls.[8]

(2) GRAMMAR AND HIGH SCHOOLS: In their early origins the grammar schools were scarcely distinguishable from the "public" schools. It was out of the early grammar school era that certain schools, because of heavy endowments, private character, their tendency to become boarding schools for students from all England, their aristocratic, selective nature, and so forth, evolved into a distinctive type of school later to be known as "public" schools. Hundreds of other grammar schools, some with equally high scholarship, were local in character, predominantly or exclusively day schools, and catering to a less select social class. These schools have made up the bulk of the grammar schools of England. Along with these schools have sprung up, in recent decades, high schools that serve local communities and are locally supported. Their curriculums tend to be more sensitive to changing conditions and local educational demands. These schools are influenced greatly by the "public" schools, which they try to imitate as far as possible. The older better grammar schools, particularly, send their graduates to Cambridge and Oxford or to the newer universities. Since most of

[8] The institutions that have given the "public" schools their fame and character are the so-called nine great public schools, all but one dating back before the seventeenth century and two over five hundred years old. These and the dates of their founding are: Winchester, 1384; Eton, 1440; St. Paul's, 1510; Shrewsbury, 1552; Westminster, 1560, Merchant Taylors, 1561; Rugby, 1567; Harrow, 1571; and Charterhouse, 1612. The student who wishes to delve further into the history of these schools should read Edward C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780–1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939; and *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941.

these schools have a more democratic clientele, many students are under economic pressure to drop out of school before eighteen or nineteen. Although a small fee is usually charged, these schools receiving local aid are required to accept a certain number of their students free directly from the public elementary schools of the community. Larger numbers of the high schools particularly have been established for girls, with equal educational standards and offerings.

(3) COUNCIL SECONDARY SCHOOLS: The Education Act of 1902 placed directly upon counties and county boroughs the responsibility for providing adequate opportunity for secondary education in their areas. These schools were the first true expression of a democratic school program for youths in England. These schools following the English tradition could be set up for either boys or girls or could be coeducational. Merged into these new creations of the councils were older traditional private schools that chose to accept governmental aid and thus become subject to the supervision of the local educational authorities.

These schools are not wholly free; they charge some tuition fees. They enroll most of their students from the elementary school for a four-year period. Since these schools offer a more practical type of education, the pupils who graduate from them and aspire to go on to the universities usually go to the more modern universities.

(4) PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS: These schools are made up of a large number of schools of various types that do not receive governmental aids of any kind. Many of these are schools of superior quality; others are of dubious value. As private schools they are largely free of governmental restrictions. They have a strong organization known as the Independent Schools Association to look after their interests and provide them leadership, just as we have many organizations in America to serve private secondary schools.

(5) GIRLS' SECONDARY SCHOOLS: Even a hasty study of the schools of England at this period will indicate that education there, as elsewhere on the continent prior to the twentieth century, was predominantly for boys. Private secondary schools for girls began to increase in number by 1900, although half a century or more of agitation had preceded the Education Act of 1902, which finally made possible the equality of education for girls in publicly con-

trolled schools. We have seen that the council schools could be coeducational. Some grammar and high schools, even "public" schools, had previously been set up for girls. Coeducation has had a difficult time overcoming the prejudices and conservative social thinking of the English. As late as 1930, of the 1,341 secondary schools on the Board of Education's grant list of England and Wales, considerably fewer than one-third, or 374 of these schools, were coeducational; whereas the remainder, nearly a thousand schools, were divided almost equally between separate boys' and girls' secondary schools. The quality of education offered the girls is now on a par with that of the boys; an attempt has been made to differentiate the education for girls from that of boys to provide more practical domestic courses. As might be expected, there was a natural hesitancy at first to make too many changes from the type of education offered boys. It is interesting to note in passing that England was more than a hundred years behind America in recognizing the right of girls to secondary education and in accepting coeducation.

The advance ground taken in the Education Act of 1902 was slowly being consolidated when World War I rudely jarred the social thinking of the world. Particularly were those ideas of human rights, equality, and justice that long had agitated the peoples of Europe brought to the fore during and after the war. England became more conscious than ever of the limitations of her educational program. A popular demand arose for a more democratic and more extensive scheme of education. The answer came in the passage of the Fisher, or Education, Act of 1918 shortly before the close of the war. The purpose of this Act was stated as: "Adequate provision shall be made in order to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting, through inability to pay fees." The Act represented an effort to make education universal and to provide an organized system of education from the elementary school through the university under government direction. The Fisher Act was, in a sense, superimposed upon the broad framework of the Act of 1902, with the Board of Education and the county and county borough councils at the heart of the plan with greatly magnified powers. A nearly

uniform tax rate was set up for each community. After this levy had been made, the state stepped in to provide a prorated share of the total cost to the local area of elementary and secondary education. Although secondary education under the Fisher Act was not necessarily free to everyone, governmental support of the secondary school required a large proportion of free tuitions, which it was assumed would care for all those worthy and desirous of a secondary education. Unfortunately the Fisher Act was not carried out in full. Not all those counted upon to support this advanced educational vision at the time of the passage of the bill were ready to make the necessary sacrifices when the time came. Until World War II it remained something of a dream—a goal toward which to move.

World War II, like World War I, aroused the democratic dreams of the English people. A growing insistence on the equality of the British of low estate with those of acknowledged privilege developed as the long war brought rich and poor to share alike at home and at the front. Through the war the masses had dramatized the fact that education rather than social position was the key to unlock the traditional door of opportunity. They began to demand equality of educational opportunity as a democratic right and a patriotic obligation. Almost overnight education came to occupy a critically important place in the national well-being. Churchill saw this clearly in 1943 when he said: "The future, in peace and in war, is to the highly educated races." Under the pressures of such sentiments, the English government was persuaded to take advanced ground beyond that claimed by the 1918 Fisher Act while the stress of war was still upon the nation.

The Education Act of 1944 is indeed a landmark in aspiration and vision. By this Act free education for all children and youth between the ages of 2 and 18 who attend public nursery, elementary, and secondary schools, and even beyond the secondary, was provided. Every Local Education Authority was made responsible to see that these schools were "sufficient in number, character, and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their ages, abilities, and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain in school."

With respect to the development of secondary schools in response to this law a publication of the British Information Services contains this statement:

> In order to satisfy such requirements, secondary education of many kinds, broadly classified in three main types, is provided. The L.E.A.'s [Local Education Authorities] may provide either individual schools of these types, or schools which combine them. These types are:
>
> (1) Secondary Grammar. These are, in the main, those schools provided by the L.E.A.'s since 1902, formerly the type known as "Secondary". The education offered in these schools is mainly college preparatory and academic, preparing boys and girls for the universities and for the professions. Most Grammar School pupils therefore remain at school beyond the compulsory school age.
>
> (2) Secondary Modern. These schools have grown from the type of education envisaged by the Fisher Act of 1918–a general type of post-primary schooling for boys and girls for whom the academic or strictly technical training was too narrow. The aim of the Modern Schools is to provide a good all-round secondary education, growing out of the interests of the children.
>
> (3) Secondary Technical. These schools bear a relationship to the industry or commerce of the neighbourhood, but they are not intended to give a narrowly vocational training. The Secondary Technical School owes much to the Junior Technical Schools, which have existed since 1905.
>
> The distinctions between these three types of education have been stated very precisely, but in practice it is obvious that the differences cannot be so great. In general, particularly in the early stages, there will be a difference only of emphasis and method in teaching. The three types will not necessarily be housed in separate buildings, and the Ministry, wishing to maintain flexibility of organization, has left the choice between single schools in individual buildings and buildings housing all three types or combinations of them to the discretion of the Authorities.[9]

Responsibility was placed upon the parents to see that their children received an education of a standard acceptable to the state. The law also required local school authorities to see that adequate facilities were available for boys and girls up to the age of 18 beyond the secondary school—facilities such as "colleges for the part-

[9] *Education in Great Britain: An Outline of the Educational System*, pp. 16-17. New York: British Information Services, October, 1952.

time education of all boys and girls up to the age of eighteen who are not in full-time attendance at school," and "full-time and part-time education in technical, commercial, and art subjects for persons over compulsory school age." It was made compulsory upon youth under the age of 18 who were not full-time pupils to attend these part-time schools. They were required to report to the education authority regularly. Free medical inspection was provided to all the children of tax-supported schools up to the age of 18.

The county and county borough councils, with some exceptions, were made the Local Education Authorities and given responsibility for the entire system of education within their jurisdiction. With provision for the combining of some of the smaller councils, it has been estimated the local authorities would be reduced from over 315 to 125 approximately. The Board of Education was reorganized into two Central Advisory Councils and made into a truly functioning organization for England and Wales; the Minister for Education, in fact, served as its president. Private schools are now brought under its jurisdiction and supervision. They must now maintain efficient educational programs or face the threat of being closed. On the subject of private secondary schools the authority referred to above has the following to say:

There are a large number of schools which come outside the statutory system of education and receive no grant of public money. In 1951, there were over 5,000 of these schools, with some 500,000 children in attendance, 50,000 of them over 15.

The only common factor in these schools is that they receive no public grant. They vary tremendously in their aims and organization, number of pupils, fees, premises, and quality of staff and teaching. They can be loosely classified into three main types, although these categories probably include only the minority of the total:

(1) The "Public" Schools, and other schools of similar character and aim, conducted by Governing Bodies, according to a Trust or under articles of association which limit or prevent profit. With these may be classified schools known as Preparatory, which are sometimes associated directly with one of the Public Schools, and prepare their pupils specifically for entry to that school, or for schools of the Public School type, and also private Secondary Schools or schools with secondary departments which are similar in most respects to the grant-aided Secondary Schools. Boys usually enter Public School at the age of 14.

(2) Experimental Schools, or those run on experimental educational principles. Many of these schools, like those in the first category, operate under Trusts. It cannot in any circumstances be presumed that these schools have the monopoly of experimental or progressive education, although such education is one of their explicit aims.

(3) Proprietary Schools, with wide variations in standard, age group, and range. Some of these schools were inspected by the Board (now Ministry) and recognized as efficient.

Such a simple summary leaves many former private schools unclassified, and does no justice to the numerous gradations of intention and merit of schools which do not fall into any of the above categories.

Under the terms of the Act of 1944, all schools which receive no public money, whatever their status, are known as "Independent" Schools. All such schools are now being inspected by the Ministry, and an assessment is made of the suitability of the premises and of the efficiency of the work, in the light of the aims of the school and in relation to general educational standards. *Eventually they will all have to be registered, and, if inefficient, closed.*[18]

At the time of the passage of the Education Act of 1944 (known also as the Butler Act) it was estimated that to carry through this ambitious educational program would cost double the expenditures for education of the years immediately preceding World War II. Time alone will tell whether England has taken advanced educational ground largely on paper under the patriotic stimulus of war, as in 1918, or whether this marks the beginning of a truly organized democratic system of education for this historically *laissez-faire* nation in matters of education.

Russia. Since 1917 Russia has been undergoing a profound social and educational revolution. When World War II brought Russia to a position of such strategic importance in world affairs, it became doubly important that educational workers everywhere understand the Soviet scheme of education and its relation to Russia's unique social experiment. From the very beginning the Communists have stressed the importance of education as an instrument of effecting social change. In October, 1917 the Soviet leaders announced their educational policy to be (1) the complete liquidation of illiteracy, (2) secular, free, universal, compulsory education,

(3) equal educational opportunity for all, (4) well trained, competent teachers, and (5) adequate financial support for education.

It is a tribute to the alertness of the new Russian leadership that they saw the crucial nature of education as a basis of social change. The story of Russian education from 1917 to 1940 reads like a *modern epic. It is the story of an almost fantastic and unparalleled achievement of an educational goal—the removal of national illiteracy in one generation. It is claimed that the 27 per cent of literacy in 1920 had reached nearly 100, or complete literacy of the Russian people, by 1940.* Most of the goals set up in the pronouncement of 1917 were well on the way to realization by 1940. Unfortunately the goal of free education, although presumably it had been achieved, underwent a change in 1940. At that time it was decreed that secondary and higher education would no longer be free except for students of superior ability. The reason advanced for this change of policy was that many students and parents were unappreciative of educational privileges provided free.

Although our interests are primarily with secondary education in this discussion, the entire pattern of education should be seen so that secondary education may be given its proper perspective. Education in Russia prior to World War II began with the *crèches* and special Mother and Child Homes where children could be placed up to age three. *The crèches are maintained for mothers who work and cannot otherwise provide for their children while they are away from home in the factory or shop. The Mother and Child Homes are for orphans who are under the care of the government.*

Nursery and kindergarten schools are for children between the ages of three and eight. The nurseries care for the child the entire time the parents are working and the kindergartens are open six hours daily. They are year-round schools. In addition there are children's playgrounds open during the summer months.

The primary division (four years) enrolls children between the ages of eight and twelve. This corresponds roughly to the upper division of our elementary school. Pupils complete their work in this division at the approximate age our children complete the six-year elementary school.

Above this primary school are two divisions of the secondary school of three years each, corresponding to the three-year junior

and senior high schools in our American educational systems. These Russian secondary schools complete the ten-year system of general education offered by the Soviets.

Those who complete this ten-year school program may enter the university or other types of higher specialized educational institutions. These advance schools offer a four- or five-year course of instruction.

To meet what the Soviets recognized as emergency conditions students who had completed the first three-year division of the six-year secondary school were permitted to enter upon a program of vocational education. Before 1940 one plan, called the "Factory Apprentice Schools," gave instruction in skilled vocations for a period of from six months to one year; the other plan, called the Technicum, usually offered a four-year vocational course that prepared students for business, management, agriculture, industry, nursing, social service, teaching, and professional vocations. In 1940 the Factory Apprentice Schools were replaced by a new vocational division to prepare against the possibilities of war. This division comprised three types of schools: (1) Trade Schools and (2) Railway Schools, both of which maintained two-year courses; (3) Industrial Schools, with a six-month course. Students could enter Trade and Railway Schools at 14 and 15, and Industrial Schools at 16 or 17. Girls, however, were not eligible for these three schools. This is the first exception to the principle of coeducation adopted by the Soviets from the beginning of their régime as an integral part of their educational program.

Besides the schools outlined above, students might begin vocational education in the skilled occupations of industry and agriculture directly from the primary division.

The early Soviet education reflected the best American educational thinking of the day in curriculum and methods. What frontier thinkers were advancing as the best in educational procedures the Russians were putting into practice. They tried to make the work of the school reflect the life of the world about the school. Activities of the school were closely associated with living problems of home and community. The "project" method was widely used under the title of "complex" method. Functional projects that had vital significance for the home or community were used where possible. Students became identified with projects for social better-

ment within their local communities. Latitude was given for student participation in class and school planning; student government was encouraged and widely practiced. The Dalton Plan, which was receiving so much attention in American educational writings during the 1920's, was widely copied as an educational device. Field trips were extensively used to give students first-hand acquaintance with the world about them.
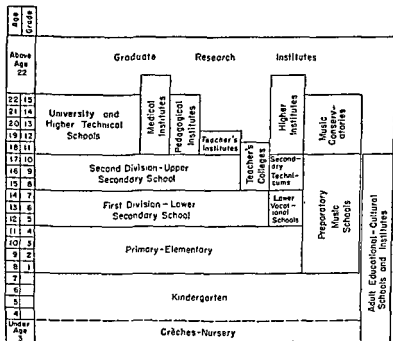

FIGURE II. THE MAIN SCHOOL SYSTEM OF SOVIET RUSSIA AS IT WAS ORGANIZED IN 1930. There was an extensive plan of adult education which, because of its complexity and somewhat tenuous relation to the public school system for childhood and youth, is not included in this chart.

It was quite clear that the educational practice of the school did not square with the practice of the state. The curriculum and methods employed were those best designed to create critical, independent, and creative thinking on the part of the student. Such an educational outcome was highly desirable for a democracy but

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FIGURE II. THE MAIN SCHOOL SYSTEM OF SOVIET RUSSIA AS IT WAS ORGANIZED IN 1950. There was an extensive plan of adult education which, because of its complexity and somewhat tenuous relation to the public school system for childhood and youth, is not included in this chart.

It was quite clear that the educational practice of the school did not square with the practice of the state. The curriculum and methods employed were those best designed to create critical, independent, and creative thinking on the part of the student. Such an educational outcome was highly desirable for a democracy but

not for an autocratic state such as Russia. Criticism of these educational practices led finally, in 1931–1934, to a drastic change to more formal classroom methods with emphasis upon textbooks and lectures.

Like the Nazis, the Soviets have been very realistic and effective in the use of education as a means of serving the state and inculcating its ideas. It is also true that the Soviets have made effective use of youth organizations to supplement the educational work of the school. Three organizations have enrolled those from tender age to adulthood. (1) The *Octobrists* take children from ages seven to eleven, (2) the *Pioneers*, from ages eleven to sixteen, and (3) the *Komsomols*, or Young Communist League, from ages sixteen to twenty-five. These organizations are under the direction of the Communist Party, but are closely associated with the schools. Members are drilled in Communist ideology, carry on activities such as marching, health activities, performing many services for the Party, and in many practical ways are identified with the life and activities of the Communist Party.

Since World War II the Soviets have made some minor adjustments in their educational program. Figure II shows the main structure of their school system as it existed immediately after 1950. In the early postwar years Russia devoted its major educational efforts to the liquidation of the widespread illiteracy that developed during the stress of the long war period. The compulsory school age was raised from 12 to 14. Russia also has expanded its facilities for college and upper technical training to supply larger numbers of qualified leaders for government and industry.

It may not be an exaggeration to say that at present no nation is engaged as seriously in the business of educating its people as is Russia. Russian leaders have streamlined education to achieve a definite goal. The effectiveness of their organization and methods must be acknowledged. When a nation, as economically poor as Russia has been, is willing to invest in education the sum of $13 billion in one year, or the equivalent of 7 per cent of its national income

Questions and Problems

1. Why is it said that our early educational institutions were influenced by northern European thought and practice?

2. In what ways did the schools of Europe reflect the social backgrounds of the peoples these schools served?

3. In what ways did our early school practices reflect European school practices?

4. Show in what way English schools of the early sixteenth and seventeenth century were reflected in the colonial schools of 1635–1700.

5. In what ways were the German secondary schools different from and similar to the secondary schools of England during the second half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century?

6. Why did France not develop a state system of secondary education during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?

7. Differentiate between the *lycée* and the *collège* of France.

8. Explain how Switzerland and Holland exercised such an influence on the educational development of our early American secondary schools.

9. Indicate the educational influence upon Germany and America of such German leaders as Francke and Hecker.

10. Draw up charts in parallel columns showing the similarities and differences in secondary education in 1700 for England, Germany, and America. Do the same for 1850.

11. What evidence, if any, do you find of an interplay of European and American influences upon the fortunes of secondary education? Can it be said that at any time since 1650 American educational thought has influenced the program of secondary education in Europe?

12. Discuss the development of coeducation in the secondary schools of Europe.

13. Explain in some detail what is meant by the term "English public schools." How do they differ from other schools of England?

14. Explain the Fisher Act of 1918 and the Education Act of 1944.

15. *a.* Describe the early organization of secondary education in Russia following the 1917 Revolution.
    b. What progress has Russia made toward literacy since 1917?

16. Describe the youth organizations of Russia and give some estimate of their effectiveness.

17. Have students report on and attempt to evaluate some of the educational books that have purported to describe education as it exists in Russia.

18. Have a class discussion or panel discussion on the question of what is actually happening in Russian education at the present time.

59. In what ways has German education changed since West Germany was given her national independence in 1952? Can you explain these changes?

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PART III

Present Task of American Education

out on a trip from the East Coast to the West Coast. Some would go by plane, others by fast train, a few by slow train, a number by automobile; still others would hitchhike, and two or three brave souls might attempt to walk the distance. They would arrive at different times and in varying conditions symptomatic of the relative rigors of the journey each experienced.

A psychologist or an educator is likely to think of adolescence in terms of the whole gamut of physical, mental, emotional, and social changes and adjustments through which the boy or girl of this period passes. Adolescence will then be defined in terms of these characteristics somewhat as follows:

By the very fact that adolescence is the time between childhood and adulthood, it is the time when the child becomes thought to be the kind of an adult he will be. During that time he will give much thought to the kind of work he may do as an adult and be eager for help both in choosing his vocation and in preparing himself for it. He will become interested in dating and going steady and will begin to consider the possibilities of marriage. He will take on more adult interest in the front page of the paper, will be strongly aware of adult attitudes toward matters of public concern, will take pride in the fact that he is moving closer and closer to the age of twenty-one and full citizenship. During that time the girl will begin to view homemaking from the woman's rather than the child's point of view. This is a period, then, when the adolescent can become a good adult—or a bad one.[1]

The more that is known about the period usually thought of as adolescence, the more difficult it becomes to define it in a simple sentence or two. Many of the more recent treatments of this segment of the life span content themselves with an extended picture of the characteristics of this period. For all practical purposes of the school, adolescence may be considered as that period beginning with the onset of puberty and continuing to the emergence of the individual in full possession of the mature physical, mental, emotional, and social powers and characteristics that stamp him an adult. It may well be thought of as the transition period from childhood to the attainment of adulthood. The approximate age range of this period is from 10 to 20.

What physiological changes take place during adolescence?

Physical growth. The rapid growth of the body structure is a striking characteristic of adolescence. Easily observable is the rapid growth in height and weight. By the time the adolescent girl has reached the age of 18 she has attained her adult height. The boy is a little slower in reaching his, but by the time he is 20 his growth in height will have leveled off. For a couple of years after these
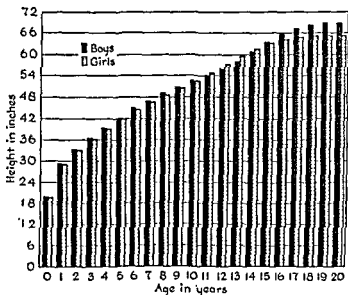
FIGURE III. GROWTH IN STATURE (AFTER PFUHL). From W. W. Greulich, "Physical Changes in Adolescence," The National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence, Forty-third Yearbook*, Part 1, p. 10. Department of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944.

ages slight gains may be noted, but, in general, the 18-year-old girl and the 20-year-old boy have reached their full stature for life. From birth until about age 10 boys maintain a slight advantage in height over girls. The next four years girls grow more rapidly than the boys. From age 15 or 16 on boys show marked growth in height over girls.

Similar differences in the growth pattern for weight are observable. Through the years of childhood boys tend to weigh more

than girls. At about age 11 girls begin to catch up with the boys, and from then on girls show a marked superiority in weight until age 15, when the boys again take the lead. The gain in weight for the boys over the girls is relatively much greater than the advantage the boys have over the girls in height at age 20. Unlike height, which shows little gain after adulthood is reached, weight tends to level off at maturity but does not stop. Age-weight charts indi-
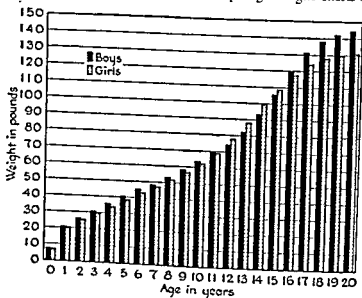

FIGURE IV. GROWTH IN BODY WEIGHT (AFTER PYLE). From W. W. Greulich, "Physical Changes in Adolescence," The National Society for the Study of Education, Adolescence, Forty-third Yearbook, Part I, p. 11. Department of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

cate quite clearly the normal expectation of some increase in weight for both sexes with the advance of age.

Although it is true that patterns of height and weight show the general characteristics suggested, it should not be expected that individual cases will always conform to the pattern. Such patterns as shown in the charts are based upon average tendencies revealed in the study of large numbers. Individual variations are numerous and often very marked. These variations should be expected and in general looked upon as normal growth patterns for the individual

boy or girl in question. It is not uncommon, for example, to see an adolescent boy increase his weight 15 to 20 or more pounds in one year, or gain five or six inches in height. These spurts are normal for boys and girls at this age and do not occur at the same age for all. It should not be forgotten also that the usual age-weight-height charts are the product of averaging thousands of measurements of weight and height at different ages. The frantic efforts of many parents to force children and youth to eat quantities of unwanted food to bring their weights up to the norms of the age-height-weight tables are familiar to all. The equally absurd and often health-vitiating struggles of adolescent girls to keep their figures ultra slim and modish, even below the chart norms, are equally well known and to be deplored. Age-height-weight charts should be understood for what they are—general averages only. Whether one is small- or large-boned in structure and whether the immediate family ancestral background runs predominantly to tall, short, slim, stocky, or fleshy types may be much better guides to which side of the norms the adolescent should expect to find himself on. There are many other factors that may influence divergences from the norm for which no remedy is desirable or possible. Foremost among these is the maturing of the sex glands, which varies with individuals. This will be discussed later. Except in cases of very noticeable deviations from the norms, particularly in weight, the adolescent should be taught to follow accepted standards of healthful living and not be too much concerned about age-height-weight charts.

There are other aspects of physical growth that the teacher and school should keep in mind. Teachers have been heard to remark to a boy who has inadvertently knocked an ink bottle or books off a desk as he awkwardly brushed against it, "You clumsy thing, can't you see where you're going?" The epithet has only added to the boy's discomfort about a point in his behavior of which he is painfully conscious but which he seems unable to control. He deserves sympathetic understanding instead of withering criticism. He is a victim of his rapid growth. Unfortunately for him, his bones and his muscles have not grown evenly. His legs have added most to his height and his arms have gained unduly in length. As a result he is not certain of his reach or sure how to gauge his ability to cover distance. The teacher scolds because *Henry has his big feet* out in the aisle but fails to realize that Henry does not know what

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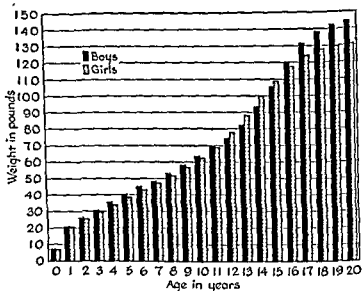

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to do with his long legs, which are cramped under a desk wholly unsuited to his rapid growth. Henry's muscles, too, have not grown to keep pace with the rapid lengthening of his legs and arms, and this adds further to his discomfort when he is seated at desks unsuited to the growing boy. The uneven growth of muscles and bones adds, too, to the lack of coordination so evident in this period and to that restlessness so characteristic of this age. These are the causes of much irritation to the teacher who does not understand. A boy of 17 who had gained almost seven inches in one year so that he was over six feet tall was taken to a wedding in a church where the pew in which he was seated was small and crowded. Throughout the service he sat with his knees cramped against the back of the pew in front, or he stretched his legs out sidewise in an effort to be comfortable. The accompanying noise was a source of embarrassment to the adolescent as well as to his parents. What has been said of boys to make the situation graphic is true of girls as well. They find themselves ill at ease and often unhappy over these normal adolescent growth situations. Their problems are likely to be increased during their period of rapid development by the fact that they have physically outgrown the boys of their own age. This often creates a problem of association between boys and girls of the same age because of conscious differences in size and interests.

The point of view that the apparent awkwardness of youth is the result of the irregular growth of bones and muscles has been the accepted explanation of these observable phenomena of adolescent behavior. There are some recent students of this problem who question the cause-effect explanation. They contend that most recent studies of physical coordination and motor efficiency show a steady growth curve from childhood through adolescence. According to proponents of this theory, the seeming clumsiness of youth in social situations is better explained by the embarrassments they feel in novel social circumstances than by any decrease in their physical or motor coordination and control.[2] The evidence at this point does

[2] See F. L. Goodenough, "The Development of the Reactive Process from Early Childhood to Maturity," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 18:431–50, August, 1935. Also see data in National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence. Forty-third Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1944. pp. 100–145.

not appear to be conclusive in support of either school of thought. Both factors no doubt contribute to adolescent difficulties.

A study made of a group of adolescent boys and girls over an eight-year period suggests the importance of physical development to the morale of youth. Of 93 boys observed it was estimated that 31 per cent, at some time during the period of the study, were seriously disturbed by their physical characteristics; of 83 girls involved in the study 41 per cent had similar difficulties. The range of physical cause for some of these disturbances is of interest. The categories of physical peculiarities that caused the disturbances may be listed as follows: [3]

	Boys	Girls
Unsatisfactory size or weight	14	21
Poor physique	7	7
Lack of muscular strength	4	
Facial features	4	5
Unusual development nipple area	4	2
Acne and skin blemishes	5	2
Noticeable scoliosis	2	
Abnormal size of genitalia	2	
Eye glasses and strabismus		2
Late development		2
Hair		1
Brace on back		1

Organic growth. The uneven growth of the heart and arteries during adolescence is similar to that of the bones and muscles. The heart grows more rapidly than the rest of the circulatory system. The heart of the child is only slightly wider than the arteries into which it must pump the blood. A radical change takes place during the adolescent period; the rate of growth of the heart greatly exceeds that of the arteries so that the heart attains a width several times the width of the arteries. The change in ratio of width of heart to arteries is approximately five to four in childhood as compared with five to one in adolescence; that is, the heart has grown about 30 per cent larger but the opening into which it must pump blood has become scarcely 10 per cent larger.

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[3] Adapted from data in National Society for the Study of Education, *Adolescence. Forty-third Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, p. 86.

months. At the age of five years she gave birth to a normal male child.[5]

The gonadotrophic hormone has the function of stimulating the growth and development of the gonads. As the gonads develop, they produce hormones which, in turn, stimulate the normal growth of the sex organs. The ovarian hormones stimulate the development of the reproductive organs of the woman and also are responsible for the development of the secondary sex characteristics of the female. The male hormones perform the same function for the development of the male reproductive organs and male secondary sex characteristics.

The pituitary gland is of interest also because there appears to be a definite interaction between the hormonic secretions of the pituitary glands and the hormones produced by the sex glands. The sex hormones, it is believed, influence the rate of production of the growth hormone by the pituitary gland. Too early or too rapid a production of sex hormones tends to reduce the manufacture of growth hormones. The early development of the gonads, or sex maturation, reacts to reduce the secretion of growth hormones, and this, in turn, tends to reduce the growth tempo of the adolescent. There appears, then, to be a definite relationship between the appearance of puberty and the tallness or shortness of adolescent growth. Early puberty is associated with relative shortness, late puberty with tallness.

In any discussion of glandular activity upon adolescent development it is necessary to recognize the continuity of glandular action and the interrelations of the endocrine glands. As far as is known the endocrine glands are active throughout all or most of life. About the time of the onset of puberty certain glands, particularly the pituitary and the sex glands, or gonads, become very active. Because their action is directly responsible for the major changes that take place in the boy or girl during adolescence, the behavior of these glands has been singled out for consideration. At the time that these glands are increasing the tempo of their activity, other endocrine glands, the thyroid, the adrenals, and the pineal, are

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[5] For a graphic account of this celebrated case and the status of mother and child eight years later see William Krehm, "What Has Become of Lina Medina?" *Life*, 23:8, 11, 12, 14, December 15, 1947.

stepping up their volume of secretions to stimulate body growth and development.

The specific contribution of the other endocrine glands to the maturing of the adolescent may not be so clearly in evidence as that of the pituitary and the gonads, but of their interrelatedness as a family there now seems to be no doubt. Failure of the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland to secret a sufficient amount of gonadotrophic hormones "results in failure of body growth, failure of sexual development, and depression of the adrenal, thyroid, and sex glands." On the other hand, the importance of the other endocrine glands for the proper development of the pubertal process is evidenced "by the fact that when there are serious defects in any of them, the reproductive mechanism fails to develop properly." [6]

The foregoing discussion has mentioned a possible variation in the maturation of the sex function. This fact in the development of adolescence is of the utmost significance for the school and the teacher. There is a general variable of from one to two years in the sex maturation of boys and girls. Puberty, or the onset of the active development of the gonads and the reproductive organs, begins for girls at about the eleventh or twelfth year, and for boys one to two years later. Numerous studies have been made of the time of the beginning of pubescence. C. W. Crampton studied the sex maturation of 4,000 boys of New York City. He studied their progress through the maturation of the reproductive function at six-month intervals from age 12.3 years to age 17.9 years.

A similar study of almost 7,000 girls revealed an even greater variation among girls in the approach to puberty. Both studies indicate uneven development of boys and girls at the adolescent age. Other studies have verified the general findings of these two studies, plus the fact that race, climate, and socio-economic environments appear to affect the onset of puberty. A temperate climate or a superior socio-economic environment may accelerate the onset of puberty as much as a year. Also, there is evidence that children

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[6] For a complete discussion of the significance of the endocrine glands for sex development and their interrelatedness see R. G. Hoskins, *Endocrinology*, Revised. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1950; also see Amram Scheinfeld, *Women and Men*, Revised. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1947.

TABLE 1

A STUDY OF SEX MATURATION IN 4,000 BOYS [†]

Chronological Age	Per cent Prepubescent	Per cent Pubescent	Per cent Postpubescent
12.3	81	16	2
12.9	69	25	6
13.3	55	26	18
13.9	41	28	31
14.3	26	28	46
14.9	16	24	60
15.3	9	20	70
15.9	5	10	85
16.3	2	4	93
16.9	1	4	95
17.3	0	2	98
17.9	0	0	100

mature earlier today than a generation ago. This may be owing to better living conditions.[6]

Mental growth. The factor of mental growth in adolescence is important. Rapid growth in the intellectual powers, so marked in childhood, is continued in the early years of adolescence. A slowing down in the rate of mental growth begins to take place in later adolescence. Contrary to the older view of Terman and others that growth ceased somewhere between the ages of 18 and 20, it is now generally accepted that mental growth continues throughout most of life, or at least until the period of senility begins. Some authorities believe that approximately 50 per cent or more of adult growth in mental ability is reached by or shortly after age 11.

[†] C. W. Crampton, "Physiological Age—A Fundamental Principle," *American Physical Education Review*, 13:150, March, 1908.

[8] Bird T. Baldwin, "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, I, 1, 1923.

F. K. Shuttleworth, *The Adolescent Period: A Graphic Atlas*, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Inc., Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1949. Child Development Publications, 1951.

J. R. Gallagher and C. D. Gallagher, "Some Comments on Growth and Development in Adolescents," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 25:334-48, May, 1953.

Kai Jensen, "Physical Growth," *Review of Educational Research*, 22:391-420, December, 1952.

Karl C. Garrison, *Psychology of Adolescence*, 4th Edition. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956, pp. 5-9.

TABLE 2

THE APPEARANCE OF PUBERTY IN 6,875 GIRLS [8]

Chronological Age	Number	Per cent
11^8-12^8	220	3.2
12^8-13^8	1050	15.3
13^8-14^8	2717	39.5
14^8-15^8	2161	31.4
15^8-16^8	640	9.3
16^8-17^8	86	1.3

Studies are in general agreement that the acceleration of the growth curve begins to taper off rapidly after the thirteenth or fourteenth years and levels off quite markedly in early postadolescence.[10]

Other aspects of mental growth are important in the consideration of adolescence. Between various levels of mental ability there appears to be a "rate of growth more or less proportional to their initial ability." That is, as the bright, the average, and the dull progress from childhood through adolescence the divergence in their mental abilities becomes greater. Heterogeneity thus becomes a greater problem for the secondary school than for the elementary grades. Added to this is the fact that considerable evidence now indicates that early maturity is definitely associated with a high level of intelligence. One authority approaches this question affirmatively yet with the comment, "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, at least for a part of adolescence, a genuine although small relationship exists between intelligence and physical maturing. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this is due to the influence of common, inherent, growth factors upon both mental and physical or physiological characteristics." [11] One further factor with respect to the nature of adolescent learning needs to be considered. To what extent, if any, are there qualitative differences in the growth of mental ability? Some studies have tended to show slight differences in the improvement of some mental functions between adolescence and adulthood. It is possible, for example, that rote memory may

[8] R. K. Atkinson, "A Study of Athletic Ability of High School Girls," *American Physical Education Review,* 30:389-99, September, 1925.

[10] National Society for the Study of Education. *Adolescence. Forty-third Yearbook,* Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. 154 ff.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 169.

mature early while more complex functions, such as reasoning, may mature later. At present the general conclusion is that the possible differences noted are simply one of degree and that "the full realization of the individual's intellectual capacity, expressed in terms of general achievement, comes much later than the middle teens." [12]

What psychological developments are characteristic of adolescence?

The change from childhood to adolescence to adulthood has its psychological aspect for youths. There has been a marked shift in emphasis upon the psychology of this period. Older writers emphasized the extreme emotional "stress and strain" features of the adolescent period. Today, there is a tendency to play down this emphasis and to regard the period of adolescence as not greatly different emotionally from the periods of childhood and adulthood that precede and follow it. Each period has its peculiar psychological or emotional problems. In the very nature of adolescence it should be expected that many emotional disturbances that bother the youth at this age would arise out of those aspects of growth and development peculiar to the period. Because of the extraordinary nature of the changes taking place within the adolescent and the change in the way his environment now impinges upon him, it would be a grave disservice to him to ignore the heavy emotional tensions these changes bring him. Since a very large proportion of these problems are new, for the majority of boys and girls adolescence is probably a time of great emotional disturbance.

Rapid physiological changes bring emotional distresses. The rapid and uneven growth of the boy or girl and the awkwardness and clumsiness that result produce a sense of uncertainty and confusion. The uncertainty of a boy's movements naturally leads to embarrassment and a feeling of insecurity in his environment. The commendable, though not always wise, thrift that leads many parents to clothe fast-growing youths in garments a size or two too large may have serious psychological repercussions upon the sensitive ego of the boy or girl so clothed. The parents, who just cannot reconcile themselves to giving up their little boy, create for him a prolonged embarrassing situation and a sense of inferiority because

they refuse to let him shave off that fuzzy, downy beard. Emotionally disturbing too is the changing voice. The shifting of the voice to a lower register in itself would be concern enough, but the fact that it is likely to crack under the strain of excitement causes a constant threat of embarrassment at most crucial times.

Many emotional problems arise because of different stages of adolescent development—consider, for example, a boy who is very short and the girl who is exceedingly tall. One girl who matured early in adolescence, and grew to a height of six feet, found her early adolescence a nightmare and never could reconcile herself to her height during her teens. She was almost half again as tall as her girl friends in the neighborhood, with whom she had played since early childhood. Gangling and gawky, she was not a popular dance companion of boys her own age and not accepted by the older boys whose height matched hers. Added to this seeming misfortune was a noticeable case of acne. The unhappy girl doctored and dieted and grew morose and irritable. Not only was she extremely unhappy but her unhappiness and bad disposition worried and upset the serenity of her parents. The same thing can happen to the boy who finds himself on the sidelines and ignored by his erstwhile buddies as they participate in those robust sports which his smallness of stature, his rotundity, or his frailness denies to him. No boy can be happy when he is a pee-wee among his former playmates. A small boy is at even a greater disadvantage with the girls of his age.

Not the least of the psychological effects of this period is that occasioned by the maturation of the sex function. The psychical effects of this event upon the adolescent are most profound. Even if we grant the modern point of view of authorities that sex development and differentiation are definitely, though slowly, shaping the physical growth of boys and girls toward their future destinies long before puberty, it must be recognized that a radical and rapid change takes place with the onset of pubescence. Psychologically boys and girls have been taught to react differently, to be different. To nurture the feminine traits girls have been dressed differently, have been encouraged to continue playing with dolls throughout childhood, and have been led to develop interests and activities that are most acceptable to the culture of which they are a part. For boys very different patterns of play interests, attitudes, and be-

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havior have been developed to conform to what the culture has thought appropriate for the masculine sex.

Even so, with the emergence of puberty life takes on new wonder and meaning. What an adolescent's emotional reactions will be to the sheer facts of sex as these now force themselves upon his consciousness depends largely on the preparation his home has made for the approach of this event. The boys and girls who have been taught to look upon sex as a natural and wholesome phase of normal life are likely to experience thrill and exultation at this evidence of promise that they are to be capable of full participation in that important phase of the adult life of their culture—the establishment and maintenance of a home and family. The approach of the menarche in girls will not produce the shock, fear, and revulsion likely where puberty is reached in secrecy and cloaked in mystery. The boy likewise will not be too greatly disturbed by the manifestations of pubescence. At best, emotional disturbances will come with the normal manifestations of this developing sex life. They are likely to be intensified and serious for the boy or girl who has not had wise preparation for the coming of puberty.

Important as are the emotional reactions of youth to the physical side of the developing sex function, the wider psychological effects are of greater importance. How will the boy and girl react to his or her place in the biological scheme of nature? This is a more serious problem for girls than for boys. Fortunately, it is becoming less and less of a problem as a more intelligent approach is made to these matters. It is true that the greater burden of sex appears to rest upon the woman. The inconvenience and discomfort of the menstrual period has been a source of great emotional disturbance to many girls and women. The customary restriction in activities, along with the embarrassing appearance of facial eruptions so characteristic of many at this time, has led many women to bitterness and resentment toward the whole business of sex and particularly toward woman's part in it. These difficulties are not experienced by the boys. The major responsibility for the rearing of children, of necessity, rests upon women. The unfortunate attitude of older cultures, now rapidly disappearing in our own, of placing a greater premium on the birth of a boy than a girl has for many women added fuel to the fires of their psychological disturbances. Studies have shown that far more girls than boys wish they were of the

opposite sex. Needless to say such reactions are psychologically bad. They tend to color with morbidity a girl's outlook on life.

On the whole, boys and girls at this period in their lives begin to take pride in the fact of their sex. The boy becomes increasingly conscious of his place in the scheme of things as a member of the fraternity of men. The girl accepts with equal pride her place and destiny among women. Each strives to live up to the standards and behavior patterns considered as typical of the sex groups. They are emotionally depressed when they feel that at any point they fail to measure up to the masculine or feminine patterns they believe are expected of them.

What social problems characterize the adolescent period?

The psychological changes that come with adolescence are closely related to the social development of youth. As the youth begins to see himself as an integral part of the life cycle, his place in the larger social scene unfolds before him much more clearly. Whereas, in the years immediately preceding pubescence, boys and girls were only mildly interested in the opposite sex, if not positively antagonistic, now a new interest arises, at least partly as a result of a deeper awareness on the part of both sexes of the social significance of the opposite sex to them. This transition usually comes relatively quickly in the social thinking of the developing adolescent. Because boys and girls mature at different ages there is a momentary social problem, at least for the girls.

It was the good fortune of the writer to observe somewhat intimately a group of girls at this stage in their development. One year, near the close of school in late April or early May, half a dozen girl companions were eagerly planning a party. At one point in their planning they became apprehensive about the boys of their class. How could they have a party without those nuisances interfering, in all likelihood trying to steal the girls' ice cream or otherwise tormenting them? The cloud hovering over their party was the possible unwanted presence of the boys. Almost exactly one year later this same group of girls were planning another party. But how all had changed! Now their chief anxiety arose over the possibility the boys would not come to the party. And how could they have a party without the boys? In twelve months the onset of puberty had completely changed these girls' attitude toward the

importance of the opposite sex for their social happiness. But unfortunately, the boys, delayed in the onset of puberty, were "of the opinion still" that they held toward girls the previous year.

The adolescent discovers new interests in life concomitant with the attraction toward the opposite sex. He finds his thoughts projected more and more into the future. He is no longer primarily concerned with self; he is projected into a social being. Life takes on new meaning. His plans for the future consciously take into account one of the opposite sex. These plans, whatever they may be, are essentially social in nature.

The problem of social adjustment between the sexes now takes on new importance. Society imposes new rules and conventions in social intercourse. Adolescents are expected to conform to new standards of conduct thought by society to be most appropriate to the *mores* of the cultural group. Much of the free and easy camaraderie of early childhood is looked upon with doubt. Fortunately, modern society is trying to remove many of the older conventions that are not appropriate to present conditions and that limit the opportunity for youth to develop the wholesome friendliness so essential to happy companionship in later home and family life.

The desire to appear to best advantage in the presence of the opposite sex is dominant. The boy who was indifferent to his clothes and personal appearance now keeps his clothes pressed, shoes shined, and hair combed. The girl becomes concerned about her dress and personal appearance. Let the young woman become interested in some young man and her care of her personal appearance is apparent to all. The girl who has been satisfied to let her hair remain somewhat straight and straggly suddenly appears in class with a new permanent and other changes in her appearance. The wide awake teacher can soon discover the cause of the transformation in both the appearance and the obvious alertness of the young lady. Boys who have had no interest in dancing now take dancing lessons; and girls who were little interested in athletic activities now show an interest in sports. Both sexes turn to books on etiquette to learn about appropriate behavior under different social situations. In all, the youths are now socially conscious and concerned about meeting the outward standards of society.

At this point there is an apparent paradox in the attitudes of

adolescents. Although, in general, the youth is concerned to meet the usual standards of etiquette, he is a belligerent social nonconformist in many things. Young people have little patience with adult social conventions and habits of thinking that do not seem to them to make sense. In fact they are likely to go through a period of general mental reaction against most of the accepted beliefs and conventions of society. By and large this is not altogether without its commendable counterparts. Social progress is the product of critical reaction to established *mores* that have long since lost whatever values they may have possessed at one time. The tendency of age is to become fixed in its ways of thinking and acting. Old people resent any suggestions of change that would jeopardize existing *mores* and require change or acquisition of new ways of doing things. The ability to carry over into adulthood the adolescent quality of a critical attitude tempered with a constructive approach to existing *mores* is highly to be desired.

The quickening of the social interest in adolescence has a moral awakening as a concomitant. Much past behavior has been the result of conformity to ways of living set by parents. Now, along with the critical attitude towards society, there is also the effort to explore the deeper meaning of life. The youth is anxious to find for himself his place in the total scheme of things—in short, to orient himself in his cosmos. He now seeks with the sages of old the answers to the age-old questions of life. He is earnestly seeking for life values—social, ethical, and philosophical—that have meaning and provide satisfaction for him. The importance of the adolescent age as a time of genuine moral interest and commitment has been recognized by the agencies of religion from time immemorial. Institutional religions in our western civilization have always placed great stress upon the early adolescent years. These years have been looked upon as a time of special moral awakening and of ready commitment to ideals and to religious devotion. From Jewish tradition through the long history of the Christian church, age 12 or thereabouts has been regarded as the age to bring youth into the life of the church. Modern psychological knowledge confirms the wisdom of these groups.

Another aspect of contemporary adolescence cannot be overlooked. The social problems of the modern adolescent have been multiplied and intensified. In primitive society the adolescent of

yesterday became the adult of today in point of adult responsibility and adult participation in the life of the tribe. The boy who a few months before was looked upon as a child and in all probability was housed with the women became an accepted adult member of the tribe. He engaged in the serious business of the chase and other appropriate adult activities. Similarly, the woman of the tribe today was the girl of yesterday. Now, in modern society, all is changed. There has been a prolongation of the period of adolescence. For the first time in history adolescents can anticipate a period of at least ten years in which to make the transition from childhood to adulthood. This chance for a gradual transition to adulthood has advantages. The shock of abruptness is cushioned. Adaptations and adjustments can be made more gradually.

There are other problems created by this delay. For example, the postponement of the opportunity for early marriage creates serious problems of adolescent adjustment. Primitive man shortly after the onset of puberty took a wife and set about establishing a family. In modern society youth must postpone marriage normally until long past the teen age. If a boy's aspirations for adult vocational activities require highly technical or professional preparation, he cannot marry much before the age of 25 or 30. Girls, too, find it undesirable to contemplate marriage much before the age of 20. At a time when an awakening sex-consciousness with its biological urges and its emotional drives demands expression, adolescents are faced with a long period of delay before normal expression in marriage can take place. The consequences may be the development of serious emotional blocks and maladjustments of personality. Our society is slowly awakening to the social consequences of delayed marriage through our prolongation of the period of adolescence.

In primitive society a person was either a child or an adult—if an adult, either a husband or a wife. Social-civic privileges and responsibilities were immediately assumed after the brief initiatory ceremonies that transferred the adolescent from the status of childhood to that of adulthood. Today, however, there is a serious gap in the long adolescent interval; the modern adolescent is accepted neither as a child nor as a social-civic adult. Larger numbers of youth in later adolescence are in a virtual no man's land. They are in truth the "lost generation"—no longer accepted in childhood

circles and not yet given true recognition in the social circle of families. This situation is clearly discerned if one reflects for a moment on the circumscribed social and recreational privileges of older adolescents. Like the proverbial widow, they do not fit into the social scheme of the married adults. The school does not welcome them to the social activities provided for younger adolescents. Their economic status does not permit them to take advantage of *the better type of public entertainment. They must content themselves with semi-idleness or indulge in a low quality of social amusement consonant with the availability of such entertainment outlets and their economic ability to take advantage of them.

Some efforts are under way to remedy the situation. One state, at this writing, has reduced the legal age for full citizenship status from the traditional age of 21 to 18. Much more still has to be done to bring this group into a complete social-civic integration with society. All evidence at hand suggests that in the future the span of the adolescent period will become greater.

What economic problems characterize the adolescent period?

Many of the social problems of adolescence grow out of or are aggravated by economic conditions. From early adolescence the question of money is an acute one. Of course, the matter of an allowance (pin money, or spending money, as it may be called) is of vital concern to all children. Even so, needs are not great and are largely individual. For adolescence an entirely new factor of need enters. As a boy who had not reached puberty in considerable disgust remarked to his brother well past middle adolescence, "Why spend your money on the dames?" The question of meeting the additional financial burden of a date is not to be lightly dismissed. The girl must have appropriate clothes and the attention of the beauty parlor. The modern boy can scarcely get by with the old dime or 15-cent soda fountain treat that satisfied the social amenities of grandfather's day, if not quite that of his father's. The pressures of after-show eating and the matter of transportation make the companionship of the opposite sex a financial problem of real magnitude for the boy—and frequently for his parents. Very often the financial outlay necessary for the entertainment of middle class *youth in the style demanded by the social set is far beyond what the*

parents feel able to spend on their own entertainment. To do less, however, would be to lose caste. Many youths in consequence have not felt equal to the feminine companionship they desire.

How can the boy who is getting beyond the period of full dependence upon his parents for money provide for his own needs? During wartime there may be little difficulty in getting a job at night or on weekends; but in ordinary times, for the boy or girl in school, opportunities for odd jobs are not too plentiful. In many communities such opportunities are almost nonexistent.[18]

At least two major difficulties face youths who would work. As technological development in industry has advanced, machines have displaced manpower to such an extent that, in sheer defense of the rights of adults who have families to support, youth has been shunted aside. In periods of economic depression virtually no work exists for the unmarried youth. The more highly technical our culture becomes, the more trouble young people have finding jobs. Another factor that is closely related to the problem of reduced employment opportunity is the feeling of thoughtful social leaders that, as our society is becoming more complex, young people should be better equipped to cope with the many complex issues that arise. It is felt that they should spend much more time in school than formerly was required. These considerations together with others have led to restrictive employment legislation to keep youth off the labor market and out of competition with adults. A child labor amendment to the Constitution is now before the American people. If and when it is ratified, it will place restrictions on most of the labor of youth before age 18. Compulsory school attendance laws are steadily raising the age requirements to include all youths to age 18.

Thus, the financial problems of youth, now acute for many, promise to become even more acute unless society soon senses the nature of the problem and provides some solution.

An adolescent is not alone, or even primarily, concerned with the question of spending money, important as that is to him. Among

[18] For a real picture of the nature of adolescent economic problems see the study of 13,000 youths by Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938; and Ruth E. Eckert and Thomas O. Marshall, *When Youth Leave School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

the great issues that confront him not the least is his vocational future. As he tries to see himself in the total picture of adulthood, he begins to think of the kind of work he would like to do or the profession he might wish to follow. *He is eager to determine the nature of his vocational career and, once this decision has been reached, impatient to begin.* The "pull" of the job has led many youths into hasty decisions and the premature sacrifice of adequate educational preparation. Safeguarded against too hasty desertion of school, young people today can give more careful consideration to their choice of a career. Studies reveal the fluctuating nature of these early choices which grow out of the emotional immaturity of early adolescence as well as the lack of knowledge of the myriad vocational opportunities available to the properly qualified.

What is the significance of adolescence for education?

From the days of primitive man adolescence has been recognized as a period of peculiar importance for education. As an adolescent reached the pubertal stage in his development, his elders arranged impressive ceremonies and initiatory rites by which the adolescent became a full sharer in the secrets, the folklore, the *mores*, the aspirations, and the tribal life of his group. This comprised the formal education of the tribal youth. He was deemed to be fully prepared thereby to accept complete membership in the tribe and assume full responsibility for his share of the group life. These rites might require several days to several months for their completion. But life among primitive peoples was relatively simple; and the adjustment necessary to the assumption of full group life was not difficult or extensive.

The significance of adolescence for education today is not greatly different from its significance to primitive man. The pattern of life has become infinitely more complex and is becoming increasingly complex with each generation. Adolescent education is today in purpose much as it was in primitive society. It is broadly the function of education at this time to insure a successful transition of the maturing boy or girl into an effectively participating member of an adult society.

Clearly some changes are required in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Cole indicates the general nature of these changes and, by inference, shows the importance of the adolescent

period for education, as she graphically characterizes what is involved in the achievement of adulthood:

> As long as people become angry over superficial social situations, are dependent upon older people or members of their own sex for happiness, are inclined to take every thing personally, they are not yet adults emotionally. It is at once clear that some people never grow up and that others do not become mature until long after they have passed beyond the age of legal responsibility. . . . Complete emancipation from home must take place or adolescence is not yet over. No matter how old individuals are, they remain emotionally children if they must run to their parents for understanding or assistance. . . . The true adult loves his parents and is willing to take their desires into consideration in making his plans, but he makes his own decisions and lives his own life. . . . Blind loyalty to one's friends and blind prejudice against anyone who is different are adolescent characteristics; a person of adult years who shows them is still a social adolescent. The true adult is able to get along in casual business relationships with practically any other normal adult. . . . The adolescent is typically a person who feels insecure because he does not know what to do or how to act in various social relationships. . . . An adult is characteristically able to adjust himself to ordinary and recurrent social situations easily and naturally. . . . The end of *moral* adolescence is even more difficult to define. It consists probably in the development of some relatively stationary and relatively satisfying attitude toward life and the establishment of ideals by which one's own conduct is guided. . . . An adult does not accept unthinkingly the existing code of morals or current social situations, but he does regard such matters as facts which exist and to which one must make some reasonable adjustment. The adult who is still in a state of flaming revolt against the world has not outgrown his moral adolescence. A true adult is, then, a person of adequate physical and mental development, controlled emotional reactions, and tolerant attitudes; he has the ability to treat others objectively; he is independent of parental control, reasonably satisfied with his point of view toward life, and reasonably happy in his job; he is economically independent; he is not dominated by the opinions of those around him, nor is he in revolt against social conventions; and he can get along in ordinary social situations without attracting unfavorable attention; and, above all, he has learned to accept the truth about himself and to face reality instead of either running away from it or making believe it is not there.[14]

The necessary transition from the behavior pattern of adolescence to that of adulthood will not be made incidentally. It may occur accidentally, but can be assured only by a most painstaking program of educational guidance. The citizen as well as the educator must recognize the tremendous educational opportunity of this period and the resulting responsibility it implies.

Questions and Problems

1. Make a study of the opinion of students of adolescence since 1900 with reference to the question of whether adolescence represents a definite break with childhood. What significance have the ages 9, 12, 15, and 18 for students of adolescence during this 50-year period?

2. How do you define adolescence? Childhood? Adulthood?

3. Study several primitive social groups and determine what importance they gave to adolescence.

4. Give reports on the ritual customs of several primitive societies by which the adolescent is inducted into the adult life of the tribe or clan.

5. Gather all the data you can on the issue of adolescence as a period of "stress and strain."

6. Why is the period of adolescence in modern society considered so much more difficult than it is in primitive society?

7. What is the importance of sex in connection with the general period of adolescence? In what way, if any, do you consider the problem different in modern Western society from what it was and is in more primitive forms of society?

8. Why is adolescence such a difficult problem for the schools?

9. Have a class or panel discussion on the question: "How can our culture better provide for the transition from adolescence to full participation in the adult life of the community?"

10. Have a class or panel discussion on the question: "How can our school better help adolescents make the transition to full and effective participation in adult society?"

11. What influence have the different glands upon adolescent development?

12. What are some of the peculiar difficulties or problems of adolescents that find their bases in the peculiar chemical status of this period?

13. What do you think society should do to remedy this situation? Possibly this problem should be the basis of class study and discussion.

14. Why is adolescence such an important period for education?

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CHAPTER V

What Is the Nature of Our Democratic Society?

Why did the early colonists come to America?

The religious motive is considered as having had a strong influence upon early American colonization. It would be impossible to single out any one motive as the exclusive reason for our forefathers' seeking sanctuary in this country; seldom do people act from single motives only, and the early colonists were no exception. Although it sometimes was a single motive that caused men and women to brave the hardships, dangers, and isolation of life in a strange new world, more often several motives, some conscious and others not clearly recognized, led people to forsake their friends and homeland.

The lure of gold and love of adventure must be put down as the primary causes for the discovery of America and the earliest reasons for colonization. Certainly the efforts of kings to encourage the settlement of the new world were indisputably based on economic motives. The grants of royal patents to Lord Baltimore, to William Penn, and to others in some cases settled the obligations and rights of the Crown on individuals, but in every instance such grants were motivated by the hope of rich financial returns and a profitable extension of the power of the kingdom. The plundering by Francis Drake of the rich cities across the seas and the pirating of Dutch and Spanish vessels laden with gold and other treasure had called attention to the possibilities of these new lands. Drake's ships had brought back to Queen Elizabeth and the company that financed his exploits an estimated £600,000 in profits in return for an original investment of £5,000. During the reign of Elizabeth

close to £12,000,000 was obtained from the plundering of the new lands and colonies overseas and the treasure-laden ships of Spain.

It was the hope of exploiting a new undeveloped land of similar potential wealth that led the merchants of England, as well as the Crown, to an aroused interest in the colonization of America. Sir Walter Raleigh's abortive efforts at colonization in 1585 and 1587 were inspired by the hope of rich returns. Queen Elizabeth had given Raleigh a patent to all land he might colonize. It was stipulated that in return he was to pay to Elizabeth one-fifth of the profits from all minerals mined. It was this controlling motive that led the English Attorney General, when he was informed of a money grant for the establishment of the college of William and Mary in Virginia, because "the people of Virginia had souls to be saved," to exclaim: "Souls! Damn your souls; Make tobacco!"

If those to whom patents were given were motivated in their colonial interests by the hope of profits, men like William Penn were actuated in their colonial policies by a religious interest as well. The colonists, of course, usually had reasons for settling in America at variance from those of the colonial patent holders, though the economic motive was strong with many of the colonists. Virginia and the Carolinas were settled by emigrants from England for whom economic advantage was the principal motive. The chance to make a fortune in the New World, where the soil was rich, the climate mild, and returns for energy expended unusually high, was a strong inducement to the settlers of the southern colonies.

A strong motive for early colonial settlement, closely akin to the lure of gold and adventure but fundamentally and spiritually different, was the desire of many for a chance to get ahead. The old world had become class-conscious and caste-ridden. The child of the manor could expect to live on a different plane from children born to the servant class. Some were born to rule and others were born to serve. It was difficult to break the bars of social caste that had developed over decades of the past. In Europe the prince and peasant had their social positions and their economic status sharply drawn. The son was expected to follow in the footsteps of his father. There was little opportunity in the settled cultures of the old Europe for the poor or middle classes. The same was true in England, where social-economic class distinctions are still very much in evidence. The liturgy of the Church of England at that

time emphasized the caste system, with its design to inculcate in those of lower position a recognition of and respect toward "their betters." As an example of this type of religious indoctrination of humble submission to the caste system, this quotation is offered from the old Church of England catechism: "to submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters; to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters . . . and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me."

It was to get away from this condition that many came to these shores. Parents hoped for much for themselves and for their children in the New World; they hoped for better things for their children when their children left the parental roof to seek a new life and a future in America. The same ambition and aspiration motivated many of the indentured classes who came to America. Many of these became influential citizens and leaders in the councils of the colonies. Virginia in 1629 had 16 per cent of its Lower House of the Assembly made up of men who five years before had been indentured servants.

The farther north one went, the more the religious motive became a predominant reason for settlement. The fact that this was a period of religious unrest in Europe was reflected in the type of colonists who came to America.

The Renaissance had resulted in an intellectual awakening throughout Europe. This, in turn, had led to the development of many phases of critical thought. During the sixteenth century this intellectual stirring resulted in a number of revolts against existing conditions. Among them was Luther's protest in Germany against abuses in the Catholic Church in the latter part of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. By the close of the century the religious revolt started by Luther had swept throughout Europe and had led to counter-revolts. The rise of Protestantism and its success in influencing governments throughout northern Europe was not achieved without periods of extreme religious persecutions—Catholics against Protestants, Protestants against Catholics, and Protestant groups against other Protestant groups.

In England, where the Catholic Church was disassociated from the state and outlawed, the Protestant faith, known as the Church of England, took its place as the official religion of the state. Parliament not only made this form of Protestantism the state

religion, but also required all to belong to it and outlawed all other forms of religion. In the period of the long years of religious conflict, Protestantism had developed a number of divisions, each with its founder, or leader, and each giving emphasis to different aspects of religious dogma. Some of these groups sought to reform, or purify, the Church of England. Because they were willing to remain within the established church if it could be "purified" of certain evils, they became known as Puritans. Others maintained their freedom to set up any form of religious worship they believed right—in other words, they stood for complete freedom of conscience in religion. Among these were the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers. The Church of England at first was as intolerant of these dissident groups as the Catholics had been of the Protestants when that church had been the state church. These dissidents could be severely punished, even put to death, for nonconformity to the established church. Later, when some degree of toleration had been achieved from the Church of England, there were still pressures and various forms of discrimination practiced against these nonconformists. All in all their lot was most unhappy.

A look at a map of the early colonial period will suggest at once why the settlers of the northern colonies possibly were more strongly motivated to come to this land in search of freedom to worship according to the dictates of their conscience. The Puritans settled most of New England. The middle colonies were settled principally by Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, Swedish and German Lutherans, Dutch Calvinists, Dunkards, Mennonites, Moravians, and some Catholics (in Maryland). The Church of England dominated the southern colonies of Virginia and North and South Carolina. The southern colonies were settled predominantly by those whose religion was accepted in their native land. Thus, they would have less religious urge to come to America than the New England colonists. Even in New England, however, minority Protestant sects sometimes found religious freedom to be interpreted to apply to the faith of the dominant group. This was the experience of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, who found it necessary to flee from the intolerance of Puritan Massachusetts to the religious freedom of Rhode Island. Religious freedom was an important motive in the drive that brought most of the early colonists to the New England and the middle colonies.

FIGURE V. LOCATION OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS OF EARLY AMERICAN COLONISTS. Adapted from Cubberley, Ellwood P., *Public Education in the United States.* Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. 13.

The deep yearning for political freedom was one of the dreams of most of the early colonists. It was almost concomitant with the religious motive. De Tocqueville, the noted French commentator on the uniqueness of the American form of government, observed of the early Puritans who settled New England: "The call which summoned them from the comforts of their homes was purely intellectual; and in facing the inevitable sufferings of exile, their object was the triumph of an idea. . . . Puritanism was not merely a religious doctrine, but it corresponded in many points with the most absolute democratic and republican theories." [1] The persecuted of Europe, whether they were persecuted for religious or political ideas, or both, looked to the New World as a haven from persecution and a place where they might hold and speak their own thoughts in safety and freedom. Men stimulated by new ideas in

[1] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* Vol. I. London: Saunders and Otley, 1835, p. 25. Edition also available in Vintage Books, Inc., New York, 1954. Distributed by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

religion soon found that these new ideas had far-reaching political implications. For one thing, these ideas had brought them into conflict with the political authoritarianism of the forms of government under which they lived. In England, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the people had become aware of many of the political implications of their religious ideas. The "nonconformists" or "dissenters" of England had definitely challenged the right of the state to exercise certain powers affecting the liberty of conscience of the individual. It had led many to question whether the existing forms of government were the best for the welfare of men.

It had become the custom of the feudal houses of Europe to impress the youth of the lower classes into the armed service of the princes in their many wars with one another. As a result, both youths and their parents lived in the constant shadow of insecurity. Reigning kings and princes had adopted the further practice of selling armies to other ruling houses where they were needed. The mercenary army of Hessian soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary War was an army of this type. It was a desire to escape to a land where political conditions would safeguard the rights of the individual that attracted many others to America.

A smaller group came to America to escape the legal punishments to which they had been sentenced. For a while England used the colonies as a place to dump its undesirable criminals. Forcibly emigrated as indentured servants or coming to the colonies as an alternative to the severe punishment in prospect, this small group had motives that were not the most desirable. Within this group, however, were many who were not criminal at heart. They were people of the highest integrity and of the very best motives who had been snared in the net of misfortune. At this time the accident of a small debt in the midst of widespread economic distress or a similar misfortune was subject to the most severe penalties. Many of these victims rose to positions of great influence in the colonies.

These were the principal motives, taken singly or in combination, clearly understood or but vaguely felt, that led the early pioneers to settle here. Possibly a more subtle force, in addition to the known reasons thus far mentioned, led these people to forsake their homelands to follow the impulse of a dream they were assured might be realized in America. This force has been well expressed by the Beards:

In addition to one or more of these motives, immigrants had a quality for which no name can be found. Countless men and women who lived amid the wars, persecutions, and poverty of the Old World and suffered from them as did the emigrants, stayed at home and continued to endure them ... there was something in the spirit of the men and women who voluntarily made the break and migrated, a force of character not simply determined by economic, political, or religious conditions—a force that made them different from their neighbors who remained in the turmoil and poverty of the Old World. That something was a quality of energy, enterprise, daring, or aspiration that was to be a power in the course of American history, immediately and by transmission through coming generations.[5]

In what way was the creation of our form of government an expression of the democratic idealism of the colonists?

The democratic idealism we find woven into the pattern of our government came largely out of the ideas and experiences of colonial life. The ideals and aspirations of the first colonists provided the basis of early democratic living. The long period of rigorous living for the century and a half preceding the formation of the Constitution refined and even changed some of the ideas held by the early immigrants and succeeding generations.

The early colonists brought to America strange notions of personal equality and the rights of men. Most of them were in revolt against the social caste systems of Europe. In the lands they came from one's position and rights were dependent largely upon the accident of birth. When men could be treated like chattels but were expected to show every deference to those of another station in life, ideas of equality and personal rights were indeed revolutionary. Fortunately, most of the colonists were from England. In England there had been a definite break with the extreme feudal and caste systems of older continental Europe; still strong, they were in process of dissolution. The break proved a stimulus to the thinking of settlers whose thoughts were already directed to these

might buy some things, but in competition with the stern elements of nature personal stamina and resourcefulness were the priceless qualities that won out. Success in such an environment brought confidence to men without social or political pedigrees. It built up their egos and gave them a sense of equality with other men. It led them even to become somewhat intolerant of the shams of artificial status.

By these tokens all men had the same presumptive fundamental rights that any one man possessed or might claim. The caste system was out. The story is told of the Virginia farmer who in an altercation with Lord Baltimore called him a liar to his face and threatened to knock him down. Another incident is related of an accidental meeting between a somewhat self-important governor of Massachusetts and two farmers on a narrow road in the dead of winter. With the narrow road blocked by snow on either side the governor on horseback peremptorily ordered the men aside so he could pass. The farmers retorted that he should stand aside as they were just as good as he. At that the aristocratic governor drew his sword. One of the farmers immediately seized it and unceremoniously broke it in two. Those incidents and others of early colonial behavior toward haughty officials would have shocked the people of Old World cultures, and would probably have resulted in heavy punishment to the upstart offenders.

It must be remembered that the ideas of religious and political freedom were inherent in the Reformation movement, even though their import was not fully understood by Luther, the reformer. To substitute a book, the Bible, for an institution, the Church, and make every man the sole determiner of the meaning of that book as the guide of his life was instrumental in laying the foundations for those revolutionary ideas of equality before God and man that became the accepted belief of the early colonists. These ideas and their implications were stamped indelibly upon the Constitution that these pioneers and their descendants bequeathed to us.

Believing in these broad ideas of human worth and individual rights, the colonists became firm believers in the general principle of equal opportunity for all and special privilege to none. This was interpreted to encompass the social, political, economic, and moral rights of all. Every man had a right to such property and the good things of life as his genius and industry might achieve. But the

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advantage of position or other privileges should not weigh in his favor. The consciousness of the early colonists of the problems of political-social equality is illustrated in the first meeting of the Virginia Assembly, made up of two representatives from each district of the colony. Two representatives from one of the districts were refused their seats because the patents of their district, although legal, gave certain privileges not held by the other districts. This idea of equality, in its many ramifications, found a central place in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution itself.

Two forces at work throughout the colonial period found full expression in the Constitution. The apparently contradictory ideas of cooperation and individualism flourished side by side. The basic idea of the supremacy of the individual in matters of religion carried with it many corollaries in social, political, and economic life that gave emphasis to individualism. From the first the colonists were individualists. Each insisted upon his own rights; each group and even each colony upon its separate rights. Pioneer life tended to accentuate the individualism of these early immigrants. It was a matter of the survival of the fittest amid the rigors of a hostile climate, as the graves at Plymouth after the first winter and the misfortunes at Jamestown so well testify. As the frontiers were pushed back, farmers in relative isolation learned to depend upon themselves and became self-sufficient.

Individualism in itself has admirable qualities. Its possible overdevelopment in colonial life became a serious stumbling block to the formation of a political union. The different shades of religious and political belief that characterized the colonies and their distrust and jealousy of each other, particularly in economic matters, threatened to make political union impossible and for a time imperiled the colonies themselves. The long-drawn-out efforts to bring the colonies together and get them to work together even in the Revolutionary War prolonged the war and threatened its success. The long-drawn-out struggle to establish even a weak federation of states is a matter of history, as are the nerve-wracking months of bickering between states over how to put in effect the instrument finally accepted. Yet the Constitution as finally adopted, including the Bill of Rights, shows the marks of this spirit of individualism. The distrust of the "common man" by the Tory elements in the

Constitutional Convention and the unwillingness of the colonies to sacrifice individual interests for the common good led to the setting up of an elaborate system of checks and balances against hasty mob action and to the delegation to the states of powers considered the province of the federal government in most other countries. Whether this individualism as expressed in our political institutions has proved a blessing or a limitation upon the full achievement of democracy is not an issue here. The creation of our form of government is definitely a reflection of the democratic ideals of the colonists.

It should not be forgotten that those forces which developed the qualities of individual initiative and individual responsibility in the colonies also helped develop the sense of group cooperation that made it possible for the colonies to win the War of Independence and form the most democratic form of government at that time ever to exist. The Mayflower Pact was an expression of the sense of the Pilgrim fathers that "in union there is strength." The threatened dissensions within the Pilgrim group made its members realize that cooperation was essential to survival. The early practice, particularly in the northern colonies, of living in common centers that the New Englanders called towns was in response to a sense of need for cooperative life among hostile Indians and the hostile forces of nature. The need for cooperation in colonial government was readily admitted, and its extension was appreciated as the life of the colonies became more complex. Such problems as the navigation of the Potomac River made Virginia and Maryland aware of the necessity of cooperation; numerous matters that concerned two or more of the colonies gradually overcame some of the individualism of each and brought about more cooperative effort. It was necessity that ultimately led to the final renunciation of colonial individualism and the cautious acceptance of cooperation as expressed in the Constituion of the United States.

Another expression of the democratic idealism of the colonists is the unique provision for complete freedom of religious belief and expression. The original colonists, while in search of religious freedom for themselves and for those who believed as they did, were not all willing to concede that right to other groups with different beliefs. Virginia had established the Church of England as a tax-

mode of living. Since we think of life as involving the whole being, it is necessary to include in this way of life not only the way one acts but the way one thinks and feels within a given situation as well. What one does is but the expression of one's thought and emotional reaction to a specific situation. Frequently someone's behavior is characterized by such a statement as "That is just what you would expect of him," or "That is not typical of him." The first comment suggests that the subject's behavior conforms to a general pattern recognized for him as his "way of life." For the other the behavior ascribed to the subject is at once recognized as not in harmony with his "way of life" as this has been observed. We go further and characterize the thought and action of a given person according to patterns of conduct or behavior we think we clearly recognize and for which there is an accepted name or label. We say "He is very democratic," or "He is very autocratic." There would be little doubt in the minds of most people as to the general behavior of the two persons thus characterized.

A group, too, seems to develop a characteristic way of behaving that we can identify with, or at least ascribe to, that group. We speak somewhat glibly of an "American Way." Without consideration of the merits involved in any proposed change, it has become the easy means of appealing to prejudice against change to characterize the new suggestion as not in harmony with the "American Way." Yet, our American people believe there is a characteristic way of thinking and behaving that is peculiarly and typically American. By this same token there is the inference that other nations have typical modes of thinking and behavior that set them apart—a distinctive "way of life." When referring to some action of Great Britain, one is likely to comment "That is typically British." The Chinese and Japanese are supposed to have peculiar ways of doing things that are recognized as an oriental "way of life"; certain forms of behavior are referred to as "typically oriental." The informed at once bring to focus a mental picture of the peculiar characteristics that are supposed to be typical of a small group, a nation, or race. Cartoon stereotypes draw heavily on the characteristics popularly ascribed to the peoples concerned. Colonel Blimp typifies the slow, somewhat sluggish mentality of the British, who somehow muddle through; Uncle Sam characterizes the easygoing, good-natured American, benevolence personified, naive, an easy

mark; the rough Bolshevik with smoking bomb symbolizes communistic Russia, rugged, ruthless, out to achieve by brute force. They may be wide of the mark of a true characterization, but cartoons are the attempts to symbolize popular notions of behavior characteristics of groups.

It is necessary, therefore, to recognize that different cultures have different "ways of life." It is equally important to recognize that superficial symbols are not always true characterizations of group behavior patterns. This is true of the democratic way of life. It may express itself differently in different cultures. We in America claim to be a democracy—that is, to follow the ideal of a democratic way of life. We do not have a king or designated ruler; we elect those who carry on the responsibility of government for us. Their actions are subject to review at stated times and their continuance in office is dependent upon the favor of the citizen voter. All recognize this as an important aspect of the American way. Some make this the *sine qua non* of the democratic way of life, but there are those in England who insist they have a more truly democratic way of life than we do. They have a hereditary king, a life term House of Lords, and an elective House of Commons. The king is a figurehead as far as power is concerned; he serves simply as the symbol of the unity of the Empire. The House of Lords has very little power; the power of government actually resides in the House of Commons. The claim that England is more democratic than America springs from the fact that the government, that is, the cabinet and the members of the House of Commons, is subject at all times to popular opinion. At any time the government is not in majority favor a new election is called. In America our government, from President down through the Senate and House of Representatives, has stated terms of office, and for practical purposes the government can be changed at stated intervals only. To that extent is it not as responsive to the popular will as is the government of England.

Switzerland, without a king, is regarded as a democracy not unlike America. Often the Scandinavian countries are spoken of as democratic in their ways of life in spite of the fact that they have kings. It may be necessary to recognize that the democratic way of life is a far more basic thing than the outward trappings of governmental forms, though government may be an important aspect of democracy and democratic living. It is possible for a genuinely

democratic way of life to exist in different cultures, although outwardly its expression in one culture may be different from its expression in another culture.

It is important, too, to recognize that the concepts of democracy and its expression as a way of life may, and in fact does, change with time. It is a fundamental principle of learning that we "learn through experience." As we explore an idea and try to carry it out in practice, its meaning unfolds for us and we see new facets or implications we did not recognize before. Likewise, in the crucible of experience an idea or ideal may require change or adaptation from what was originally thought to be its characteristic. It is true of every great thinker and leader that he sees only in part the full implications of an idea or way of life he espouses. He, or his followers, may find that the expression of the idea or ideal changes with increased experience in the attempt to realize it.

As we try to catch the meaning of democracy for us in America, we must remember that democracy is a dynamic concept and an evolving one. In its very essence democracy, as a way of life, is adventurous, it is experimental, and its genius lies in the fact that interpretation of the values it seeks is always subject to the majority judgment of the group. It has been the habit of patriotic orators to hark back to Washington, Jefferson, and others of that heroic group who literally forged for us the symbols of our democratic ideals. That is well. But it is not enough. We should understand that what they believed and attempted to express in a pattern of government had its roots in ideas that had been enlarged and refined in over 150 years of varied efforts to approximate concretely an ideal way of living. It is even more important to look forward than backward if the inner deeper meaning of democracy for our time is to be understood.

The pilgrims in the Mayflower would, no doubt, have been horrified had it been possible for them to foresee the events of the years 1775 to 1791. The ideals that prompted these pilgrims to seek asylum in a new land did not imply for them the radical sequences that culminated in the Constitution, with its novel ideas and pattern of national life. The early colonists for the most part saw only a chance to escape the immediate persecutions of tyrannical governments. It was freedom for themselves to worship, but for most of them this freedom did not embrace those whose religious ideas were

greatly at variance from their own. Vaguely, for most, the idea of political freedom meant only a degree of noninterference with their personal lives. Relief from political oppression did not carry with it the full-blown idea of complete self-government. That implication of their basic ideas and ideals required a century and a half to mature. The idea that "all men are created equal" most likely would have been emphatically rejected by the majority of the colonists before they left their homelands, but these radical notions were implicit in the ideals that led them to the search for a new life in a new world. The new notions did not become explicit, however, until the colonists tried to apply their ideals to the vicissitudes of living in the new world.

The concepts of democracy have been undergoing change since the formulation of our Constitution, but the basic ideals and aspirations remain the same. This is as should be expected of the dynamic nature of ideas and ideals. We may well expect a similar development of the implications of these basic ideas and ideals as we, our children, and future generations, amid changing conditions and through experience, sense the fuller implications of these basic concepts of democracy for human well-being.

How can we distinguish between an authoritarian and a democratic type of society?

It is not as easy as many think to distinguish between authoritarianism and democracy. Witness the devices that authoritarianism has used to gain absolute power or maintain privilege by parading under the cloak of democracy. Democracy proclaims as its goal the common welfare of all. Notorious antidemocratic leaders of the past decade or two—Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Stalin, and Perón, to mention some of the better known—have been most vocal in assuring their people that they were working for the common good and were truly democratic. They have confused millions into supporting their régimes because they were supposed to be democratic and solely interested in the welfare of all.

To assume these as synonymous terms—*democracy* and *working for the good of all*—is to be misled. It used to be an aphorism of political science that the best type of government was a benevolent autocracy. This idea was based upon the general notion that an unselfish ruler, normally better educated than the rank and file of his

subjects, could provide a richer, fuller life for all than was possible under any other form of government. The joker, of course, is to insure the benevolent autocrat. History has recorded very, very few. Modern knowledge of the nature of a man as a social being indicates clearly that man is happier and better satisfied, even with less, if he has had some part in the determination of his own way of life. Too, autocracy in its very nature breeds self-interest in the autocrat and indifference to the welfare of those under his rule.

Implicit in these facts, then, is the fact that *autocracy and authoritarianism* in government are for all practical purposes synonymous terms, and irreconcilable with the concept of democracy. An authoritarian type of society can always be distinguished from a democratic society at the crucial point of where final authority rests. This distinction should never be confused with the immediate quality of life held out under authoritarian promise. *A government is authoritarian when its power and its acts are not at all times subject to review, rejection, or modification by its people.*

There are other distinguishing characteristics of an authoritarian type of society versus a democratic one. Political democracy may exist and yet the real essence of democracy may be absent. For many years, the early Massachusetts colony enjoyed practical political democracy in the government of domestic affairs. The majority ruled on all local issues. The majority, however, thought of democracy only in terms of their major interests. They sought the right to freedom of religious belief, but it never seemed to occur to them that the same principles were involved for the other colonists in their midst who did not maintain quite the same pattern of doctrinal differences. They imposed rigorously, at first, their form of religion upon all minority groups even more uncompromisingly than did the mother country. England, with a form of political democracy, until recently at least has been authoritarian in its social and economic practices. It has maintained an old social caste system that recognized those who "belonged" and those who did not. Special privileges, social and economic, were part of the English upper-class heritage. The English have been worshipers of a tradition that effectively served to perpetuate the privileged class.

The spirit of authoritarianism in the socio-economic realm is the unquestioned maintenance of old social beliefs, customs, *mores*—the glorification of the old and opposition to the new, the practical

status quo in thought and behavior. It is synonymous with the kinds of blind, unthinking reaction that decreed for Socrates, "that disturber of the morals of the youth of Athens," the cup of hemlock. On the other hand, *Democracy embodies the spirit of adventure, the quest for new ideas, the modification of old ones, the fearless yet critical search for new ways of adjustment to changing conditions, with one ultimate purpose in mind only, the advancement of the happiness and well-being of all, with special privilege to none. Politically, a government is democratic when its power and its acts are exercised by the common consent of its people, and when its power and its acts are at all times subject to review, rejection, or modification by its people.*

What are the characteristics of our ideal of a democratic society in America?

Two important documents in American history provide the springboard for any consideration of this question. The general ideas and ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution voice the common aspirations of all men for a democratic society in America. The lofty opening words of the Declaration of Independence are familiar to all:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Beside these historic words should be placed the equally significant words of the Preamble to the Constitution:

> We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Not only are the basic goals of the democratic society in America clearly recorded here, but the equally basic method of attaining these goals is unequivocally given.

Three-quarters of a century after the Declaration of 1776 had been crystallized into political form, Lincoln, in his memorable

Gettysburg Address, characterized for all the basic ideal and method of political democracy in America in the now famous words "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." This is a great political ideal of America that we have not attained. We are only slowly recognizing its fuller implications and translating our new understanding into governmental expression. It required almost a hundred years before one large section of the population was legally admitted to the full rights of political citizenship. In many states the political rights guaranteed by the Constitution to Negro citizens still are denied notwithstanding the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the schools. An awakened public conscience in many of these states is slowly bringing practice into harmony with the ideal as well as the legal provision of the Constitution. Throughout most of our history the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution has been thwarted in part by the common practice among the states of requiring payment of a "poll tax" as a prerequisite to the right to vote. This is a hangover from the older cultures that placed property rights above human rights. This old idea our forefathers clearly and uniquely rejected in setting up our form of democratic government. Most states have removed such limitations upon the freedom to vote. The persistence of the old property right idea is still to be found in a number of states that require one to possess property to vote in school elections. This undemocratic practice is giving way as people realize that no act which affects education or any other aspect of living that requires group judgment should be passed upon by a few under the claim that because they own property it confers special political privileges upon them.

The growth of the democratic ideal in its application to government possibly is best illustrated in the Nineteenth Amendment. Certainly, few, if any, of those who so well expressed the democratic idealism of government in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution thought woman suffrage a natural and inescapable corollary of the phrases "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" or "we the people." Yet, few today would be hardy enough to deny that the franchise to women was an "inalienable right" of such a political ideal. At this writing one state has projected the implication of political democracy even further. With World War II came the idea that if the state regarded youths

of 18 as sufficiently adult to assume by compulsion the primary burden of the nation's defense at the possible cost of their lives, they were also sufficiently mature and of right entitled to the suffrage privilege. Ought they not of democratic right be privileged to pass judgment upon the merits of the causes for which they were asked to risk their lives? As a result of this argument, Georgia lowered the voting age from 21 to 18, and the issue is now a live one in many other states, and in Congress as well. The pertinent question is asked: "What is sacred about the twenty-first birthday?" It is pointed out that youth of 18 today have achieved a higher level of schooling than the adult population of 40 and over; that they are far, far ahead of the adult level of schooling of those who composed the original colonies that formed these United States of America. Clearly, the democratic ideal as it is being translated into political practice is slowly but surely bringing to the American citizen the reality of equal rights.

Not only are we clarifying what we believe political democracy in America should be, but we are giving clearer meaning to what we believe is the democratic way of life in the larger spheres of socio-economic relationships. The Declaration of Independence and the Preamble to the Constitution look upon political democracy largely as a means to an end. The real essence of democracy for America is assumed to lie in the realm of socio-economic life. This essence is expressed in the broad sweep of the phrase "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," and in the notion of the equality of man.

It is important to catch something of the spirit of the people who tried to give expression to these ideals as a way of life. Out of a background of oppression, these people had been struggling toward a new freedom with an emphasis upon the importance of the individual and equality between men (social and economic equality as well as political equality). How fundamental and pervasive this idea of equality was and what influence it had upon the character of the American people before 1850 are clearly revealed in the impression made upon that great French student of American life, de Tocqueville. He came to America in 1831 somewhat skeptical of this new venture in government: he returned to France enthusiastic over what he saw. He comments thus:

Amongst the novel objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, nothing struck me more forcibly than the general equality of condition. I readily discovered the prodigious influence which this primary fact exercises on the whole course of society, by giving a certain direction to public opinion, and a certain tenour to the laws; by imparting new maxims to the governing powers, and peculiar habits to the governed.

I speedily perceived that the influence of this fact extends far beyond the political character and the laws of the country, and that it has no less empire over civil society than over the government; it creates opinions, engenders sentiments, suggests the ordinary practices of life, and modifies whatever it does not produce. The more I advanced in the study of American society, the more I perceived that the equality of conditions is the fundamental fact from which all others seemed to be derived, and the central point at which all my observations constantly terminated.[2]

It was but natural, therefore, for our early Americans to emphasize, even possibly to exaggerate, the importance of the individual. The democratic way of life meant freedom, liberty, and personal rights with a minimum of the restrictions felt in the Old World. The Bill of Rights, as the first ten amendments to the Constitution are called, is aptly characterized in its name; the burden of emphasis is the protection of the rights of the individual against the infringement of others, particularly the state. That was almost an obsession of the colonists; it threatened the adoption of a Constitution and has been a tender spot throughout our history—even to the popularization of the "Four Freedoms" by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt:

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—anywhere in the world.[8]

The expression of democracy for our forefathers, then, was characterized by the setting up of safeguards for the greater freedom of the individual. The early American maintained the right to

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[2] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I. London: Saunders and Otley, 1835. Introduction, pp. xiii–xiv. Edition also available in Vintage Books, Inc., 1954. Distributed by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

[8] In an address to Congress, January 6, 1941.

is a clear recognition that democracy in America is being thought of as a way of life that stresses the welfare of the individual within the group as well as the individual as an individual. The deepening sense of cooperation and interdependence is further evidenced by the rapid extension of the cooperative movement among farmers and consumers, the mushroom growth of group medical insurance plans, plus mounting agitation for some form of socialized medicine on a national scale, the spread of unionism and similar demonstrations of cooperative activity. The furtherance in recent years of the ideal of the equality of all and the advantage of special privileges to none is one of the most revolutionary and fundamental social developments that has taken place. For the past several decades gift and inheritance taxes have been used as devices to create greater equality between the children of the rich and the poor, as well as to raise money for government purposes. The heavy graduated income taxes, corporation taxes, luxury taxes, and such serve to equalize the tax burden in relation to the ability to pay and to narrow the gap between individuals in the economic sphere. The proponents of democratic idealism have frowned even on too great a disparity between individual incomes. Advocacy of a limitation upon incomes is becoming more widespread. The late President Roosevelt boldly proposed $25,000 as the maximum ceiling on individual incomes. Clearly the democratic idealism expressed by the founding fathers is gathering new and enriched meaning with time and the changing conditions of American democratic society.

Questions and Problems

1. Do the reasons listed in this chapter for the colonists' coming to America agree with the beliefs you can recall having had as a student in high school? Try to account for any changes in your point of view.

2. Can you cite examples to show whether or not the social caste system of Europe was carried over into the social life of any of the thirteen colonies? Has it influenced American education? Is there any evidence of such influence in American education today?

3. Write out five or more political implications of the religious freedom motive. What implications do your statements have for public education in the United States?

4. Draw as many comparisons as you can between colonial methods of punishing criminals and methods of punishment that have been used

in the schools. Has greater progress been made in the "disciplining" of criminals or of students? State your reasons or evidence.

5. Would you define *democracy* as a process, an ideal, a method of procedure, a body of doctrines, a system of beliefs, or a way of life? Give reasons for your choice of definitions.

6. Have the American people accepted the idea that democracy is fundamentally experimental in nature? State your ideas and follow through to the implications of your statements for education.

7. What are the differences between an authoritarian and a democratic institution? Can an institution be a mixture of both, or must it be all one or the other?

8. State your agreements or disagreements with the author's definition of an "authoritarian government." Apply the definition to some present-day governmental institutions.

9. Would you favor lowering the voting age from 21 to 18? Would doing this place further obligations upon public schools?

10. Discuss any differences you think exist between authoritarian and democratic conceptions of "rights" and "responsibilities."

11. Should individual security be provided by the government, by free enterprise, or by cooperative organizations? In any case, what are the effects upon the responsibility of the school?

12. Cite instances to show how our conceptions of democracy are growing and changing today.

13. State your criteria for determining whether a political, social, or economic movement today is "reactionary," "liberal," or "radical."

14. List several movements or developments in modern education and justify your application of the terms *reactionary, liberal,* or *radical* to them.

15. Discuss this idea: "Truth is everywhere the same, and therefore education should be everywhere the same."

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CHAPTER VI

What Is the Nature of the Problems Facing Youth in Our Democratic Society?

The very nature of a democratic society has a marked influence upon the youth of the community. The fact that the character of such a society is determined by the will of its members must affect profoundly the outlook, the thinking, and the behavior of all those who compose it. It is one thing to confront your life knowing that the major decisions concerning that life have been made or will be made by others and that you can only try to fit yourself into whatever pattern has been decreed for you; it is a vastly different thing to live in a society that is and will be determined by all those who are a part of that society. The genius of a democracy rests upon the spirit of a "divine discontent" with things as they are, the spirit of adventure, and the quest for ways and means to give greater reality to the ideals of liberty, justice, equality, and human well-being inherent in the concept of democracy.

Against a background of such a dynamic concept of a democratic community modern youth must be further challenged to the realization that his world is a world of rapid and accelerated change. It has been asserted that we have made more change in the past fifty years than in the previous three hundred years and that we have changed more in the last three hundred years than in all previous recorded time. One writer has put the matter of accelerated change even more strongly: "Then suddenly, with the utilization of steam and electricity, more changes were made in technology in two generations than in all the thousands of years of previous human history

put together."[1] It is certain that youth today, particularly in America, largely unhampered by age-old customs and traditions, faces a world of unprecedented upheaval.

How do changes in communication and transportation affect the world of the adolescent?

The writer, with millions of others of his generation, recalls vividly when all telephones in the nation were silent for two minutes while funeral services were in progress for the late Alexander Bell, the inventor of the telephone. To the youth of today this must seem fantastic. The telephone is so vital a part of our lives it is all but taken for granted that it has always been a part of our existence. Yet much of grandfather's life was spent without the convenience of the telephone. It is a little more than a century since the first brief message "What hath God wrought?" was flashed over the telegraph wires between the neighboring cities of Washington and Baltimore. Today almost every child is familiar with the rows of poles and glistening strands of telegraph wire to be seen along every railroad, tying America together with a network of telegraph lines. Now thousands of miles of cables traverse the ocean beds to connect every part of the world by transoceanic telegraph.

Although the radio came into existence shortly after 1900, commercial broadcasting did not begin until 1920, and radio reception for effective ordinary household usage was delayed another decade. Commercial broadcasting distinctly belongs to the present younger generation. Youth is fully familiar with the use of the two-way radio, particularly as it is used in police cars and in the armed services. The possibilities of two-way radio for family or individual pocket use have been dramatized in current commercial advertisements and in the comic strips. N.B.C., in 1939, began regular public television service in New York City; today more than 32 million TV sets are in use in America alone. Color television is rapidly coming into use.

The significance of the motion picture cannot be overlooked in any consideration of the modern evolution, or revolution, in modes of communication. The old Nickelodeon, which came into exist-

ence at about the turn of the century, is all but unknown to those on the sunny side of 40; even the silent films are becoming but dim memories. The transformation of the movie has been almost as phenomenal as the development of the radio. By 1930 the "silent" movie had been transformed into the "talkie." Movies have had a tremendous influence upon the public; it is estimated that the motion picture industry in the United States now draws over 100 million paid admission weekly. Today, we are concerned with Cinerama and Cinemascope.

The newspaper and the magazine have been with us since colonial days, but they are radically changed in character and scope. The older newspapers were local in character, limited in circulation, serious in purpose, and restricted in the nature of the ideas that found a place in their columns. Ideas too much at variance with the accepted *mores* of the community seldom found a place in the newspapers. Only a small portion of the public could read, so that the stimulus that might have come through a widespread reading of the paper was limited. Magazines, for the most part, strove to be decorous, literary, and serious. They were adult in interest and not likely to appeal to youth.

Tremendous changes have taken place over the years. Reading competency in America has become almost universal. Newspapers have become cheap enough to be purchased by all. Most homes now read one or more newspapers. The weekly newspaper has given way to the daily paper in the cities, and in most of the rural communities the daily rural free delivery service of the United States mail, developed rapidly since its inauguration in 1896, brings to the farmer's door the daily paper from the city as well as the small town or county weekly newspaper. These daily papers are large metropolitan newspapers, often representing a chain of newspapers owned and published by a group of owners or by an individual owner. They have become essentially commercial in interest, sensational in the items they feature, largely nonmoral in their attitudes toward the news they print, and, through their size and coverage, of necessity largely indifferent to local community conventions and *mores*. They bring to those who read them a distinctly sophisticated approach to every phase of human life. The same may be said for the magazines. They are plentiful and they are relatively inexpensive. They range from the highly literary, through the semi-

popular but serious magazine, to the cheap, sensational, gaudy sex and crime thriller familiarly known as the pulp magazine. It is clear from a look at the magazine racks at any newsstand or corner drugstore that the pulp thrillers are the most numerous, and that they are priced to attract the limited purchasing ability of youth.

These are the spectacular new forms of communication that have come into existence or extensive use within our generation. They present both a promise and a threat to the world of tomorrow: a threat to the extent that they tend to undermine seriously the existing customs, conventions, and *mores*, which have provided cohesion for the community, a sense of solidarity to the group, and a way of life for its members. The discovery that people in other cultures or environments hold views contrary to those taught in a given community or that behavior condemned in one community is apparently acceptable in another may lead a young person to doubt the standards he has heretofore implicitly followed. Often such discoveries cut deeply at the roots of the life values that youths have been taught to accept without question. The danger lies, further, in the possibilities that these new media of communication may estrange youths from the values cherished by their parents and the community, and at the same time not provide them with an improved set of *mores* and standards of values by which to give purpose and direction to their lives. To have new ways of thinking that definitely challenge the old come under the guise of respectability through these media of communication may lead a young person to reject the old hastily and without carefully evaluating the desirable and undesirable consequences of his action. It may easily result in a cynical *laisser-faire* attitude toward the major issues that make for personal success or national well-being. A person with this attitude may become a liability instead of an asset to himself and the community.

New ideas are potentially dangerous. It is a truism, of course, that thinking is disturbing. It is equally true that the absence of thinking means intellectual and social stagnation. The promise of these new means of communication is that they present a medium of challenge to existing thinking, the natural provocation to new ideas and to possible improvement in our modes of living. Only as we are willing to risk the challenge of new ideas is progress possible. It is in the clash of ideas and the critical examination of differing

Old Oregon Trail a ribbon of concrete over which his car could have sped along in safety and comfort for the passenger.

The invention of the steam engine radically revolutionized water and land transportation. The first steam-propelled vessel crossed the Atlantic in 1827, and in 1831 the first steam-drawn train in America traveled from Albany to Schenectady, New York. It took the Pilgrims months of uncomfortable travel to cross the Atlantic; in our modern liners we can cross the ocean in luxury in a relatively few hours. So accustomed have we become to the network of nearly 230,000 miles of railroad lines crisscrossing the United States, and to the speed and luxury of the modern streamlined trains, it is hard to realize that less than a century ago no transcontinental railways existed. No less does the present generation take for granted the modern gas-driven automobile, yet the older generation spans the period of its invention and development. Many remember vividly the early mechanically troublesome car and the extremely poor, rough, rutted, and muddy highways. In 1900 there were fewer than 145 miles of hard-surfaced road in the United States. By 1950 over 3,000,000 miles of hard-surfaced road made automobile travel a pleasure and a matter of speedy transportation. Superhighways designed for speed, safety, and scenic beauty are the order of the day.

It should be remembered that in 1900 only 4,000 automobiles were produced to traverse the then primitive highways of America. In 1950 alone, over 10¼ million automobiles and motor trucks were produced. The registration of automobiles in 1951 totaled 51,913,965 for America, out of a total of approximately 70 million for the entire world.

Most parents of the youth of today hold in vivid memory a late May day in 1927 when word was flashed back from Paris to an anxious American public that Charles Lindbergh had landed in France, thereby becoming the first man to fly across the Atlantic. Today, nearly thirty years after Lindbergh's famous transoceanic flight, spacious air liners shuttle passengers across the Atlantic in less than one-fifth the time Lindbergh took. Any spot in America is now but a few hours from the farthest point on our planet. Planes are now available that are capable of a nonstop round-trip flight to any place on our globe. These are days of plans for stratosphere flying. All this, too, within this generation.

The profound effects of these changes in direct communication and transportation can scarcely be overestimated. The effect upon the modern adolescent's world is nothing short of revolutionary, especially for youth in a democratic society. It is possible and necessary only to point out a few of the major social implications of these changes for America and the world.

Some years ago, when radio broadcasting was still in its infancy, a list of 150 social effects of 3 of the principal recent forms of communication was catalogued. Today this list could be augmented greatly and the significance of many on the list would certainly take on new meaning, particularly now that television has become an important media of communication. Of the 11 areas from which this list of 150 social effects of radio, telegraph and telephone has been catalogued, 3 areas are reproduced.[2]

Effects of the Radio Telegraph and Telephone and of Radio Broadcasting

ON RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

Another agency for recreation and entertainment.
The enjoyment of music popularized greatly.
Much more frequent opportunity for good music in rural areas.
The manufacture of better phonograph music records encouraged.
The contralto favored over sopranos through better transmission.
Radio amplification lessens need for loud concert voices.
Establishment of the melodramatic playlet with few characters and contrasted voices.
Revival of old songs, at least for a time.
Greater appreciation of the international nature of music.
Entertainment for invalids, blind, partly deaf, frontiersmen, etc.
With growth of reformative idea, more prison installations.
Interest in sports increased, it is generally admitted.
Slight stimulation to dancing at small gatherings.
Entertainment on trains, ships, and automobiles.

ON EDUCATION

Colleges broadcast classroom lectures.
Broadcasting has aided adult education.

[2] By permission from Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Vol. I, Chap. III, "The Influence of Invention and Discovery." New York: Copyrighted, 1933, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., pp. 153-156.

Used effectively in giving language instruction.

Purchasing of textbooks increased slightly, it is reported.

Grammar school instruction aided by broadcasting.

Health movement encouraged through broadcast of health talks.

Current events discussion broadcast.

International relations another important topic discussed, with some social effects, no doubt.

Broadcasting has been used to further some reform movements.

The government broadcasts frequently on work of departments.

Many talks to mothers on domestic science, child care, etc.

Discussion of books aids selection and stimulates readers.

The relationship of university and community made close.

Lessens gap schooling may make between parents and children.

Provision of discussion topics for women's clubs.

New pedagogical methods, i.e., as to lectures and personality.

Greater knowledge of electricity spread.

The creation of a class of radio amateurs.

On Government and Politics

In government a new regulatory function necessitated.

Censorship problem raised because of charges of swearing, etc.

Legal questions raised beginning with the right to the air.

New specialization in law; four air-law journals existing.

New problems of copyright have arisen.

New associations created, some active in lobbying.

Executive pressure on legislatures through radio appeals.

A democratizing agency, since political programs and speeches are designed to reach wide varieties of persons at one time.

Public sentiment aroused in cases of emergencies like drought.

International affairs affected because of multiplication of national contacts.

Rumors and propaganda on nationalism have been spread.

Limits in broadcasting bands foster international arrangements.

Communication facilitated among belligerents in warfare.

Procedures of the nominating conventions altered somewhat.

Constituencies are kept in touch with nominating conventions.

Political campaigners reach large audiences.

The importance of the political mass meeting diminished.

Presidential "barnstorming" and front porch campaign changed.

Nature of campaign costs affected.

Appeal to prejudice of local group lessened.

Campaign speeches tend to be more logical and cogent.

An aid in raising campaign funds.

other safety features enough? How much personal liberty does one have to do as one pleases in this modern era of fast mechanical locomotion?

Other grave social problems stem from the new modes of transportation. The isolated farm community and the small rural village of yesterday are now but shells of their former selves. A generation ago the major social life of the people of these communities took place within the physical confines of these communities. Generally life centered about the school building that served the children, the church that ministered to the social as well as the spiritual needs of the families, and perhaps the grange or community hall. Today all has changed. Dotted here and there are the vacant school houses, the empty churches; the small villages once thriving and prosperous are now largely abandoned, boarded up, and in various stages of decay; weeds grow in once well-kept yards, where unpainted houses with broken windows bear silent testimony to desertion.

What has happened? With the coming of automobiles and paved or improved roads the farmer has found it more advantageous to transact business in the larger commercial centers. Now in thirty minutes, or thereabouts, he can take his family to a city movie theater, with its better pictures and more comfortable appointments, or to one of the many other forms of social entertainment denied those who are restricted to the farm or small village community. The larger church, with its more churchly atmosphere, better music, more stimulating service, and larger congregation, is as available as the less inviting church of the open country. Besides, farmers get to know the people of the larger center, and a feeling of "belongingness" awakens in them feelings of loyalty to the larger place.

Simultaneously, the new highways have led to the closing of smaller schools and the merging of school districts into larger ones, centered frequently in the larger towns. Private cars and school buses transport the children to these larger centers. These are additional factors in the natural disintegration of the smaller American rural and village community.

Modern transportation has also greatly facilitated the marketing of perishable products. The vegetable-, fruit-, and berry-producing areas can now supply their perishable products by refrigerated express trains, trucks, and airplanes to every part of the United States,

even to the far corners of the world. A 1946 feature story of the Epicure's Dinner served in New York City called attention to a unique part of the dinner, the serving of "Partridges from France" flown from France especially for the dinner.[3] The isolated communities of the Middle West and the northern states, through refrigerated trucking service and, to an increasing extent, through air service, can now enjoy during the winter months the luxury of fresh vegetables and fruits, until recently restricted to the areas where they were grown or, at best, to the large commercial centers. This means, in turn, the use of lands for truck gardening that were heretofore commercially undesirable because of their remoteness from large population centers.

A number of years ago, before the airplane was more than an experimental toy, the annual "scandal number" of a small college paper dealt with conditions as they might exist in 1960. Headlined on the front page was the news item that two of the popular students of the college had been brought before the Dean of Men and Dean of Women for disciplinary action. Their offense here was that they had flown a plane to Chicago, a distance of several hundred miles, for the weekend and had returned just in time for early Monday morning classes. The problem of social controls in the age of automobiles and airplanes could scarcely be better highlighted. In the days of the horse and buggy it was difficult to get away from the general, even the unintentional, surveillance of the community. People, horses, and carriages were known to all for a radius of many miles. Anonymity was not easily achieved under these circumstances. Consequently, those who respected the good opinion of the neighborhood were observant of the community mores. The ability to escape local community influence and be among strangers or in a strange environment after a few minutes or hours of travel has removed this restriction for those who do not *per se* accept the conventions of the local community. Crime of all kinds has found modern transportation facilities a valuable protective cover, and law enforcement has had its problems increased manyfold.

The breakdown of the community brought about by the development of modern transportation has created serious problems of

[3] "Epicure's Dinner," *Life*, 21, 16:41, December 23, 1946.

other types. In rural areas where community disintegration is far advanced, it has isolated even more those unable to take advantage of modern transportation. As the Maryland youth study so clearly revealed, those who did not possess the modern means of transportation could not take advantage of the greater amusement facilities and social privileges of the larger distant urban centers.[4] Since those with means in the local community could and did take advantage of the new means of transportation, the sources of outlet for social activities formerly available in the local community dried up, largely through economic strangulation. Thus the plight of a large segment of economically submerged youths and adults in small, out-of-the-way communities has been greatly aggravated.[5]

How do changes in population affect the world of the adolescent?

Each year we feel more and more cramped and hemmed in as our population increases. America has been moving rapidly from a country of wide-open spaces and sparse settlements to one of more thickly populated communities. The growth of the population in the United States for the past century and a half has been unparalleled in world history. At the time of the Revolution the American colonies had approximately 2,500,000 people. From a population of 5,308,000 in 1800 the nation grew to 75,994,575 in 1900, to an estimated population in excess of 164,000,000 in 1955. Since nearly half of this population gain has come within the past fifty years, within the short span of a lifetime the present older generation has witnessed the doubling of our population.

This great population mass has tended to flow westward. The historic Santa Fe Trail and Oregon Trail are symbols of the westward movement of a rapidly growing population. This population first spilled over into the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, then on westward over the Rockies to the Pacific coast areas.

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[4] Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, pp. 157 ff.

[5] It is not feasible nor is it the function of this chapter to consider extensively the several problems presented here. It is possible to mention only a few of the major issues created by changing conditions under each of the large categories, in order to suggest to the student the nature of the problems that confront our present and our future citizens. To illustrate these problems better the topic just discussed was treated more extensively than will be those which follow.

As every student now knows, the great days of the western frontiers are over. What most American citizens have not become aware of are the tremendous problems this changed condition creates for the future of America and its citizens of tomorrow. Ours has been an expanding economy with what appeared to be almost unlimited resources for future development. As a young, rapidly growing country, we have for the most part tended to evade rather than face the actualities of the problems that confronted us. When malconditions led to economic and social dislocations, panics, and so forth, the easiest way out was to find outlets westward toward new horizons and new opportunities. "Go West, young man, go West!" was the familiar slogan of much of the last century—the American panacea for most of its ills. Our founding fathers were confident we would require centuries to settle the vast expanses to the west of the Atlantic seaboard. It was assumed that our resources in timber would last a thousand years. In less than a century and a half, America has seen its wide expanses inhabited and settled, and its forest areas, many of them the creation of centuries, largely denuded. In a real sense we have come to the end of the trail; we have in fact come to the end of an era. In this new era America must approach the adjustment of her problems within the framework of a more stable and necessarily a less mobile population.

Other important developments associated with our growth in population foreshadow even greater problems for tomorrow's solution. As the growing population surged westward and began to seek permanency in the new environments, it has shown a distinct tendency to concentrate in urban centers. In 1790 about 5 per cent of our population could be classified as urban. By 1940 the portion of the population classified as urban had reached 56.5 per cent; and in 1950 it had reached 64.0 per cent. To take a concrete example, in 1810 slightly over 1 per cent of Ohio's population was urban, whereas in 1950 almost 70.2 per cent of its population lived in urban centers. Prior to 1850 the gain in Ohio's population was essentially rural. Since that date the population of Ohio has more than trebled, but the cities have absorbed most of the increase. This can be seen most clearly by a comparison of the census data since 1890, the period of Ohio's greatest population growth.

TABLE 3

COMPARATIVE GROWTH OF URBAN AND STATE POPULATIONS OF OHIO

1890-1950

	Subject				
	State Population	Urban Population	Rural Population	Per cent Urban Population	Per cent Rural Population
1890	3,672,329	1,504,390	2,167,939	41.0	59.0
1900	4,157,545	1,998,382	2,159,163	48.1	51.9
1910	4,767,121	2,665,143	2,101,978	55.9	44.1
1920	5,759,394	3,677,136	2,082,258	63.8	36.2
1930	6,646,697	4,507,371	2,139,326	67.8	32.2
1940	6,907,612	4,612,986	2,294,626	66.8	33.2
1950	7,946,627	5,578,274	2,368,353	70.2	29.8

In no other country of the world have large cities grown so phenomenally. Seldom has imaginative planning prepared for this growth of our cities. Traffic bottlenecks arise because of narrow streets and lack of coordinated traffic patterns. One can pass, often within the space of a block or two, from neat, attractive, thriving areas to sections that are a fire, health, and social menace to the total community. The rapidity of urban development has not provided the accumulated experience necessary for the wisest government of these rambling, frequently almost incoherent, centers of mass populations.

Among the many problems confronting America's citizens of tomorrow with respect to their cities is that of democratic government. There are many who look with concern upon our admitted failure to date to make democracy work in most of our large cities. To call the roll of some of the notorious characters generally acknowledged to control certain cities politically—and through politics, much of the rest of city life—would be superfluous. The unsavory reputations of the men themselves and the names of the cities they dominate are all too well known to American adults and youths alike.

The mixture of races in America is another of our population problems. Unlike the other major nations of the world, the United States does not have a dominant group historically indigenous to our American soil. The original inhabitants, the Indians, probably

never exceeded a million in number, and now number fewer than 350,000. The broad classification of "white population," including almost all European nationalities from the English to the Italian and Greek, numbers almost 120 million of which over 10 million are listed as "foreign white stock." Among the major foreign-born groups, other than those of northwest Europe, are listed: Russian, 894,844; Czechoslovakian, 278,268; Mexican, 450,562; German, 984,331; Polish, 861,184; Italian, 1,427,145; French, 1,034,421; Greek, 169,083; Spanish and Portuguese, 99,902. The United States also provides a home for approximately 15 million Negroes, 120,000 Japanese, and many Chinese, Filipinos, and others not included above in the broad classification as white.[6] Many of these groups still speak their native language, live in clannish segregation, and have not become truly integrated with other groups. As a result there have been evidences of growing tensions between racial and national groups. The much vaunted ideal of America as the great "melting pot" of the world has not been too happily realized. Possibly much of the fault lies in our neglect to take conscious steps to insure interracial understandings and cooperative living among our polyglot peoples. The race problem is one of the urgent and inescapable problems, the solution of which the growth and consequent proximity of population groups makes imperative. To sympathetically understand this problem teachers should be familiar with such books as *The Uprooted, Americans in the Making, Deep South, Mobergs the Emigrants,* and *We Who Built America.*

Serious as are the problems that confront us as a consequence of the unprecedented population growth, they would be multiplied several times over were we to assume a similar continued rapid increase for the next half century. There are some straws in the wind that suggest a gradual slowing down of our growth in population. Long before World War II immigration had been reduced to a mere trickle. It is unlikely the gates will again be opened to the people of other lands to permit large numbers to come to our shores as they did at the beginning of this century. Before 1940 the birth rate had shown a definite downward trend; family units were con-

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[6] The data above are for the year 1950 and are taken from the Census figures reported in *The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1954,* edited by E. Eastman Irvine. New York: The New York World-Telegram and Sun. pp. 263–265, and from *Advance Sheets of the Seventeenth United States Census, 1950.*

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never exceeded a million in number, and now number fewer than 350,000. The broad classification of "white population," including almost all European nationalities from the English to the Italian and Greek, numbers almost 120 million of which over 10 million are listed as "foreign white stock." Among the major foreign-born groups, other than those of northwest Europe, are listed: Russian, 894,844; Czechoslovakian, 278,268; Mexican, 450,562; German, 984,331; Polish, 861,184; Italian, 1,427,145; French, 1,034,421; Greek, 169,083; Spanish and Portuguese, 99,902. The United States also provides a home for approximately 15 million Negroes, 120,000 Japanese, and many Chinese, Filipinos, and others not included above in the broad classification as white.* Many of these groups still speak their native language, live in clannish segregation, and have not become truly integrated with other groups. As a result there have been evidences of growing tensions between racial and national groups. The much vaunted ideal of America as the great "melting pot" of the world has not been too happily realized. Possibly much of the fault lies in our neglect to take conscious steps to insure interracial understandings and cooperative living among our polyglot peoples. The race problem is one of the urgent and inescapable problems, the solution of which the growth and consequent proximity of population groups makes imperative. To sympathetically understand this problem teachers should be familiar with such books as *The Uprooted, Americans in the Making, Deep South, Mobergs the Emigrants,* and *We Who Built America.*

Serious as are the problems that confront us as a consequence of the unprecedented population growth, they would be multiplied several times over were we to assume a similar continued rapid increase for the next half century. There are some straws in the wind that suggest a gradual slowing down of our growth in population. Long before World War II immigration had been reduced to a mere trickle. It is unlikely that the gates will again be opened to the people of other lands to permit large numbers to come to our shores as they did at the beginning of this century. Before 1940 the birth rate had shown a definite downward trend; family units were con-

*The data above are for the year 1950 and are taken from the Census figures reported in *The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1954,* edited by E. Eastman Irvine. New York: The New York World-Telegram and Sun, pp. 264-265, and from *Advance Sheets of the Sixteenth United States Census,* 1950.

stantly getting smaller. This trend was partly offset, however, by a rapid upward swing in the birth rate during and immediately following the war. Prediction studies made in the last decade and based upon trends then in vogue led to the conclusion that the population in the United States would reach its probable maximum between 1960 and 1970, certainly by 1980. A subsequent decline in population, it has been predicted, would take place and level off somewhere around 150,000,000 people as the stationary population level for the United States.

Continued population growth since World War II has led to a change in population predictions. Based upon the 1950 census data, population projection studies now predict a possible total population of around 220 million by 1975, with a gradual leveling off thereafter.[7] If these predictions are correct, the problems of the next quarter of a century will be concerned with the need of an expanding economy to meet increased population needs.

Problems of a stationary population may thus be postponed, but these problems need to be anticipated. Grave difficulties may be averted by the slowing down or actual halting of the growth in population, but this process would have its disadvantages also. In a static or declining population there would be a disproportionate number of aged to younger groups. This means that the burden of support for aged people who are nonproductive or rapidly declining in productivity must fall on a relatively smaller productive group. Moreover, our whole economy has been built upon the assumption of a rapidly growing youthful population and a parallel expansion of our needs and wants. Increased consumption, created by larger numbers of consumers, has made for increased production and the rapid expansion of production and transportation facilities, and has placed a heavy drain on the labor market to provide for these growing demands. Capital has been in demand for expansion programs and the investment market has absorbed people's savings. All this is subject to change in a static or declining population. It need not be, but if this contingency is to be averted, it will require the application of a high degree of imaginative genius.

Intelligent understanding of the causes and effects of these conditions, creative imagination and skill to make necessary and desirable adjustments in the modes of living, and an adventurous attitude on the part of all to try out new ways of enriching life consonant with the changed conditions will be absolutely imperative. These are the tasks bequeathed to the youth of today, who will become tomorrow's adult citizens. There is abundant evidence that many bewildered citizens sense the problem vaguely even if they do not see the solution. It was with something of this apprehensive feeling of the uncertainty of the future that the then President of the American Economic Association in the late 1930's observed:

We are moving swiftly out of the order in which those of our generation were brought up, into no one knows what. . . . We are passing, so to speak, over a divide which separates the great era of growth and expansion of the nineteenth century from an era which no man unwilling to embark on pure conjecture can as yet characterize with clarity and precision.[8]

In much the same mood William Vogt comments, "What we today believe to be a fact may tomorrow prove to be illusion . . . the modern world is continually changing the old frames of reference."[9]

How do changes in industrial and economic conditions affect the world of the adolescent?

The changes that have taken place in our industrial and economic life within the past century, even within the past fifty years, have been nothing less than phenomenal. Our "infant" industrial organizations, which required such careful nurturing in the early years of the nation's history to insure their ability to compete with the strong, established business concerns of Europe, are no longer "infant." In spite of their insistence upon the continued support of protective tariffs and other accustomed governmental aids, they have long since become of age. They have, in fact, become the modern colossi of the industrial world. Many of these businesses

[8] Alvin H. Hansen, "Progress and Declining Population," *American Economic Review,* 30:1, March, 1939.
[9] William Vogt, *The Road to Survival.* New York: William Sloan Associates, 1948, p. xii.

are now billion-dollar corporations. We had, in 1946, 43 such billion-dollar business organizations, with combined assets of more than 100 billion dollars. The total assets of all industrial concerns, banks, and insurance companies in 1946 were estimated at 400 billion dollars. This means that these 43 billion-dollar corporations possessed approximately one-fourth of the business assets of the nation. In 1953, the number of billion dollar corporations had been reduced to 29 and the combined assets of these corporations approximated 65 million dollars.

In 1936 one of our leading magazines carried an extended account of one of these corporations.[10] In 1935 this corporation had more than 195,000 employees, although fifteen years before it had had 267,000 in its employ. This corporation produced as much steel annually as did all Germany. If a family unit were assumed to consist of four persons and most of the workers were rightfully assumed to represent such a family unit, over most of that period the well-being of nearly one million persons was in a very real sense dependent upon the success of the corporation and the degree of enlightenment of its labor and social welfare policies. How far-reaching the effects of such policies are upon the workers and their families is well known by students of our industrial society.

A consideration of what is known as the parent corporation is frequently only a small aspect of the total problem that must be taken into account. This one-billion-dollar corporation controlled more than 100 subsidiary corporations, many of them far from the infant classification. Among these subsidiary corporations were listed the second largest coal company in the world, the largest pipe company in the world, the largest cement company in the world, and 18 railroads, of which four were Class I railroad companies. Let your imagination consider the remaining 180 or more lesser subsidiaries, some only slightly inferior to the ones mentioned and some of relatively little consequence taken by themselves. It does not require much imagination to understand how influential such a corporation can be or how widespread the dependence of workers and their families is upon such a corporation.

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[10] Editors of *Fortune*, "The U.S. Steel Corporation," *Fortune*, 13:173–174 ff., March, 1936; 127–131 ff., April, 1936; 93–97 ff., May, 1936; 113–120 ff., June, 1936. For a further discussion of this problem see chapter 16, "Corporations, New Style," in F. L. Allen, *The Big Change*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.

That this corporation typifies something of the magnitude of modern business organization may be gleaned further from the 1946 report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Senate Small Business Committee. It points out the following significant facts about our overgrown industrial organizations:

1. The 45 largest transportation corporations owned 92 per cent of all the transportation facilities of the country.

2. The 40 largest public-utility corporations owned more than 80 per cent of the public-utility facilities.

3. The country's 20 largest banks held 27 per cent of the total loans and investments of all the banks.

4. The 17 largest life insurance companies accounted for over 81.5 per cent of all the assets of all life insurance companies.

5. The 200 largest nonfinancial corporations owned about 55 per cent of all the assets of all the nonfinancial corporations in the country.

6. One tenth of 1 per cent of all the corporations owned 52 per cent of the total corporate assets.

7. One tenth of 1 per cent of all the corporations earned 50 per cent of the total corporate net income.

8. Less than 4 per cent of all the manufacturing corporations earned 84 per cent of all the net profits of all manufacturing corporations.

9. No less than 33 per cent of the total value of all manufactured products was produced under conditions where the four largest producers of each individual product accounted for over 75 per cent of the total United States output.

10. More than 57 per cent of the total value of manufactured products was produced under conditions where the four largest producers of each product turned out over 50 per cent of the total United States output.

11. One tenth of 1 per cent of all the firms in the country in 1939 employed 500 or more workers and accounted for 40 per cent of all the nonagricultural employment in the country.

12. In manufacturing 1.1 per cent of all the firms employed 500 or more workers and accounted for 48 per cent of all the manufacturing employment in the country.

13. One-third of the industrial-research personnel was employed by 13 companies. Two-thirds of the research workers were employed by 140 companies.[11]

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In keeping with these evidences of the stupendous size of American business organizations is the statement of Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge in an address before the New Council of American Business in December, 1946 that the 250 largest corporations in the United States held about two-thirds of the nation's usable manufacturing facilities.[12] It should be remembered that there are over 400,000 corporations of all sizes in the United States.

Not only are the business activities of the country organized into powerful corporations but these again are often recombined under the control of much smaller, and consequently potentially greater, financial group interests. For example, the Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation discusses the possibilities and the probabilities that in the past war years our already large manufacturing corporations will become larger, and concludes that:

the usable facilities which would be held by the 250 giant corporations would nearly equal those of all the manufacturing corporations in 1939. And the facilities of corporations controlled by five great financial interest-groups—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, du Pont, and the Cleveland group—would be equal to nearly half that of all manufacturing corporations in 1939.[13]

Although the number of billion-dollar corporations have decreased in recent years, there appears to be no diminution in the trend toward economic concentration; in fact, there is evidence of a growing momentum. Small corporations are being absorbed by larger ones; even major corporations are consolidating. As this is being written the struggle of the automotive giants for bigness and power is symbolic of this trend. Smaller multimillion-dollar automobile corporations are combining into a few major ones, and there are rumors that further mergers within these are in prospect to enable them to compete with their billion-dollar competitors. Press com-

[12] Associated Press dispatch in the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, December 12, 1946, p. 1.
[13] *Economic Concentration and World War II*. Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, United States Senate. Document No. 206. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946, p. 60. See also for further data on this subject *United States Versus Economic Concentration and Monopoly*. A Staff Report to the Monopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946.

ment evidences concern that this trend may end up in virtual monopoly in important economic areas.

The tremendous potential power for good or ill concentrated in a relatively small number of mammoth corporations or even fewer great financial interests cannot be ignored by the alert citizen. There are advantages in large corporate activity: economy in mass production, purchasing power, volume distribution, and numerous other aspects are commonly recognized. American technological achievements have made mechanized development often financially unprofitable, if not prohibitive, unless large production or organization facilities are possible, backed by large blocks of capital. On the other hand, many people feel that in business there may be an optimum size beyond which size does not bring increased economies, but may result in relative inefficiencies.

The citizen in a democracy must weigh all these factors of size in relation to their ultimate effect upon the common good. With size comes economic power, which may be used with incalculable effects upon the total economic, political, and social welfare of the community and the nation, even several nations. An intelligent citizenry must evaluate the radical changes that have taken place in the potential power for good or ill to society of these industrial colossi considering such questions as these: "In what way may powerful business organizations become a possible threat or menace to the welfare of a democratic society?" "What evidence, if any, do we have to date of the misuse of such potential power in the past by large business corporations?" "Is the traditional attitude of *laissez-faire* on the part of the society that characterized the *colonial* period of infant industries desirable today?" "If not, what safeguards must we, through our government, adopt to make certain these powerful business groups serve the public interest rather than their selfish interests alone?"

Changes in our industrial and economic life already have created problems that have aroused public concern. Further changes threaten even greater problems, which the citizens of tomorrow must solve. Efforts to protect the public welfare against possible abuses of powerful industrial economic groups have led to the adoption of many devices as safeguards of the common good. States and local governmental agencies have set up regulatory measures

of control by providing for the charter or license of business concerns, by setting up various agencies or departments to provide close supervision of business activities, and by passing legislation considered necessary to control these economic organizations in the public interest. The federal government has also set up many regulatory bodies, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate interstate business.

In addition to these efforts to protect the public good, much legislation has been enacted by the federal government. Perhaps the best known of the earlier attempts on the part of the government to cope with what it thought was a dangerous tendency on the part of large economic groups was the enactment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The Pure Food Law is the outgrowth of a recognition on the part of the federal government that we were passing rapidly from a condition where much of what was eaten was raised and processed by the family that consumed it to the point where food processing was done by machine on a large scale and remote from the consumer. Adulteration, contamination, and food spoilage were among the sources of danger to the public health against which the public needed legislative protection.

The changed conditions of employment created by our industrial development have been reflected in a mass of legislation to regulate labor-employer relations. The Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act represent major recent efforts to cope with the baffling problems of labor that the complexities of mass production have brought upon us. The old style of bargaining, when the laborer and the man for whom he worked met face to face to bargain for the laborer's services, now exists for relatively few. The employer seldom meets his employees individually—it is physically not feasible for him to do so where hundreds and thousands of employees are involved. Negotiations must be carried on by proxy. To meet these conditions labor has organized to negotiate and to protect its rights. The Congress, with many evidences of confusion and uncertainty, has tried to set up through legislation safeguards for the employee, the employer, and those citizens who are frequently victims, though not participants, in labor disputes.

It is clear that the best way has not been found to safeguard the welfare of all against the possible misuse of the concentrated power brought about by mass organization and production. As economic

groups tend to become larger, the problems of safeguards and controls will become more intricate and the need for their solution more urgent.

How do changes in home life affect the world of the adolescent?

Change, which has touched all other phases of our national life, is also leaving its mark upon the home. Not long ago life centered about the home; in the agrarian era economic activities had the home as a center—the work of the farm was a family undertaking. The activities of the farm were seldom carried on out of sight of the farm home which became the conscious center of family living. The farmyard was where the poultry, swine, and other stock were cared for, and the farmhouse was where the milk, butter, and cheese were made. Most of the needs of the family were supplied from the soil and the labor of its members. Wheat and corn, often ground on the farm or at a neighborhood mill, supplied the flour and meal. Meat was processed in the fall for winter needs; smoked ham and bacon, sausage, dried beef, lard, and other by-products were familiar to every farm and village home. In great-grandmother's day even clothing came from carded and home-spun wool, and leather from the tanned hides of the animals on the farm.

The economic activities of the small village were carried on adjacent to, or not far distant from, the worker's home. For a worker to live in one part of the building that housed his business was a common practice. The life of the village was closely linked with that of the surrounding farms. Such a situation led to a sense of close integration and group identity among members of the family. They had common interests and purposes developed through sharing common tasks and a sense of their joint responsibility for the success or failure of the family enterprises.

The social life of the members of the family centered in the home also. The family ate together at breakfast, lunch, and dinner. In the evenings the family circle frequently joined in parlor games or were joined by members of neighboring families. Commercial entertainment was at a minimum, virtually nonexistent. The family unit was largely self-sustaining. What the family lacked it made up by associating with other families of the community in one another's homes.

Today, all this has changed. A majority of our population is now classified as urban; less than 10 per cent of our national labor force is engaged in agricultural pursuits. Family life as it was known in an earlier day no longer exists. Too, the family has felt the influence of the many other forces that have led to radical changes in our national and local economy. Technological development with the consequent shift to mass production has removed both activities and people from the farm and small village. Home processing of foods and clothing have given way largely to machine processing in giant plants far remote from the source of raw materials. Modern transportation and the tendency to commercialize government have drawn the members of the family more and more away from the home as a center of family life.

The members of urban homes tend to become individualistic in their interests and behavior. The breadwinner of the family usually leaves home after a hurried breakfast and does not return until near the dinner hour. If he is a professional man, his duties frequently require evenings away from home, often dinners away from home as well. It is quite common for the tempo of modern business to take members of the family away from home regularly or at frequent intervals for days, weeks, even months. Other members of the family who are working or are in school are seldom home except mornings and evenings. Several families spend a week commercial entertainment and other activities draw members of the family out of the home. As a result, few social activities for the entire family now take place in the home. A warden of one of our penitentiaries recently observed that "the average American home has become principally a lodging place for its members to sleep in and a place where they take some of their meals." For the urban home few tasks remain as educative devices for the children. There are no farm chores for the city youth. Automatic gas, oil, and coal stokers and other labor-saving devices that have been developed for apartments and residences with small yards leave urban youths with plenty of time on their hands and virtually no home responsibilities.

These are not the only changes that affect the modern American home. Fifty years ago few married women worked outside the home unless they went into the fields beside other members of the family. In 1900 there were 769,000 married women regularly em-

ployed outside the home. By 1954 the number so employed had risen to 10½ million. By 1954 there were more married than single women gainfully employed. Between 1890 and 1954 the percentage of married women gainfully occupied outside the home had risen from 2 per cent to almost 17 per cent of all gainfully employed workers. This should be considered along with the fact that the divorce rate in 1951 according to the United States Census Bureau was approximately one divorce to every four marriages. In some communities annual divorces even exceed annual marriages. These facts have produced a grave social situation.

One can have reasonable confidence that even greater changes are ahead. It is definitely the responsibility of youth of today and tomorrow to try to reconstruct a pattern of the family institution that will capitalize on, and be in harmony with, the possibilities inherent in these profound social changes.

How do these changes affect the nature of the problems youth must solve?

Two things are abundantly clear: one is that the world of grandfather's day has little resemblance to our world of today; the other is that the world of tomorrow will be just as different from the world of today. More than two decades ago Alfred North Whitehead commented on this aspect of change:

The beauty of the economic man was that we knew exactly what he was after. . . . His wants were developed in a well-defined social system. His father and grandfather had the same wants, and satisfied them in the same way. . . . The consumer knew what he wanted to consume. This was the demand. The producer knew how to produce the required articles, hence the supply. The men who got the goods onto the spot first, at the cheapest price, made their fortunes; the other producers were eliminated. . . . It expresses the dominant truth exactly so far as there are stable well-tried conditions. But when we are concerned with a social system which in important ways is changing, this simplified conception of human relations requires severe qualification. It is, of course, common knowledge that the whole trend of political economy during the last thirty or forty years has been away from these artificial simplifications. . . . The older political economy reigned supreme for about a hundred years from the time of Adam Smith, because in its main assumptions it did apply to the general circumstances of life as led, then and for

innumerable centuries in the past. These circumstances were then already passing away.[14]

This rapidity of change is unlike anything ever before known, and its acceleration in the future promises to increase greatly. Something of the significance of this unique situation is pointed out by Whitehead in this further challenging observation:

> Our sociological theories, our political philosophy, our practical maxims of business, our political economy, and our doctrines of education are derived from an unbroken tradition of thinkers and of practical examples, from the age of Plato in the fifth century before Christ to the end of the last century. The whole of this tradition is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will substantially live amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and will transmit those conditions to mold with equal force the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false.[15]

The effect of these implications upon the nature of the problems youths of today and tomorrow must solve is nothing short of revolutionary: it means a complete reorientation of the approach they must make to contemporary and future problems. There is no longer a safe anchorage for a youth in the accepted pattern of the thinking of his fathers. His problems cannot be solved by any attempt to fit them into the conditions of the past, nor can he with safety project existing conditions of today into the life of tomorrow. The set of conditions that create the problem must determine the solution of the problem. Henceforth the conditions that surround every problem will be unique and different.

Questions and Answers

1. What improvements do you think should be made if our sources of public information are to serve adequately the needs of citizens in a democracy?

2. Read Cousins' *Modern Man Is Obsolete* and give your reactions to the evidence given by Cousins to prove man's obsolescence.

3. What will be your attitude as a teacher when you find pupils reading comic books in your classroom or in the study hall?

4. Which services now performed by the school should be supplanted

[14] Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, pp. 119–20. New York. Copyright, 1933 by The Macmillan Company and used with their permission.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

or supplemented by television and *vice versa?* Would public ownership of television influence the statements you have made?

5. Mention several instances when man continues here to accept change, as contrasted with other instances where man is attempting to control and direct change for his own purposes.

6. What further obligations are placed upon schools in areas where people are inadequately supplied with newspapers, motion pictures, telephones, radios, and similar services?

7. Read again carefully the second quotation from Professor Whitehead's writings and get clearly in mind what the "false assumption" is. List organized groups in this country that would disagree wholly or in part with the statement.

8. List several Acts of Congress in the last few sessions that attempt to direct or control change for the public good. Can you find *legislation to indicate a lack of awareness of this as a world of change?* Legislation pointing backwards?

9. What is the case for censorship of movies, radio, television, and publishing? Do the same arguments apply to the legal prohibition of "subversive" political or economic organizations?

10. How adequately is the present student generation being educated for understanding the problems of minority groups? Are these problems best handled by the teacher of English, social studies, science, or common learnings? Is intercultural education an all-school problem?

11. Search for statistics that show how many stockholders own one-fourth and one-half of the stock of all United States corporations. How widely is ownership of corporate stock distributed according to corporation advertisements? According to statistical research?

12. Look over the recent platforms of the leading political parties. In two columns, list the statements that recognize the need for change and those that show resistance to change.

13. Does the increased divorce rate destroy the family as an institution or is the family merely a more flexible institution than it was in the past? State reasons for your view.

14. List problems suggested in this chapter that you believe the school should treat more fully. Do you find any problems that are bigger or broader than the present separate subjects now making up the curriculum? Is there a remedy?

15. What happens in the evolutionary process to organisms unable to adapt themselves to change? Is it contrary to man's "inner nature" to welcome directed and controlled change as desirable?

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CHAPTER VII

What Should Be the Task of the School in America?

What is the peculiar function of education in a democracy?

As workers in the secondary school we are interested in the nature and scope of the task that is now or soon will be our responsibility. Before it is possible to visualize the task of education for one segment of the school, however, it is necessary to see what devolves upon all the parts of that school. Even so, a moment's thought may suggest that the school does not encompass all that we call education. Certainly no one would deny that, historically, education antedates the formal institution known as the school. The school as an institution has been in existence but a relatively short time as man reckons time—education, on the other hand, is as old as human history. Possibly at this point a prior question will inevitably arise that should be considered: namely, "Just what do we mean by the word *education?*"

What is education? This question is not as simple as it may seem on first thought to be. Start a discussion in almost any group by an inquiry into the meaning of the word *education.* It may be very illuminating to discover how confused many people are on what they consider education to mean. Others, on the other hand, will be quite definite about what they think education is, but widely divergent in their concepts. The basis for these differences in point of view is usually divergent notions of the nature of the learning process. This will be discussed at some length in relation to the definition of the curriculum.

Education can be approached from two directions: it may be re-

garded as a process or it may be thought of in terms of purpose. It is highly important for the educational worker to keep always in mind that education is a process, that from the standpoint of the learner it is a process of acquiring or developing competencies of one kind or another. These competencies are acquired by a slow modification in the behavior patterns of the learner. From the standpoint of the teacher, education is the careful, patient guidance of the learner in the learning situation--guidance directed toward a desirable change in the learner's behavior patterns or his achievement of worth-while competencies. Many teachers forget this fundamental fact about the nature of the educational process. They tend to expect a finished product, an effective, efficient type of behavior, when instead they should expect only crude reactions at a given stage in the educational process.

A short time ago the writer was asked to participate in a program that was conducted entirely by a group of young people. During the program the smooth flow in the sequence of the different parts was slightly broken by a few minor mishaps. It was exactly what should be expected of a group of nervous, overanxious youths engaging in roles to which they were not accustomed. Later, the teacher in training who was the adviser of the group apologized to the writer for the lack of finish in the conduct of the program. It was suggested, however, that the young people had done very well; that the minor slips that occurred were exactly what should be expected of learners; that had they conducted the program with the finesse of older, trained persons accustomed to the management of such programs we might be very gratified at their performance, but at the same time we might well ask ourselves whether we were not wasting valuable time. After all this was supposed to be an educational experience for the young people involved, and lack of finish was only normal at this stage in their education. With a look both of relief and surprise the teacher commented: "I am so glad to hear you say that. Hereafter I shall remember this in my teaching."

All too often teachers and administrators who have become accustomed to the halting efforts of youth to master at once the intricacies of a language or the skills involved in typing or playing a musical instrument are critical of the stumbling of pupils in social situations. If students do not conduct themselves at social events of the school with the good judgment expected of adults, and if

they do not show a maturity in their student government activities that is seldom observed even of older people, these activities are likely to be roundly condemned as uneducative. Recently, in considerable exasperation, a teacher commenting on the failure of the students in her high school to measure up to her high standards in the conduct of their student government exclaimed: "These youngsters just do not know how to govern themselves." With that she was ready to pronounce student government activities a failure and revert to older forms of teacher-dominated discipline. For the moment, at least, she had forgotten that in the development of desirable social behavior patterns education was, in part, a process.

It is important for the teacher to have clearly in mind that education is a process, and that all changes in the behavior patterns of the learner, whether in the realm of the older traditional areas of learning or in the manifold areas of living outside of school, are achieved through the same basic process. The teacher must recognize also another important aspect or approach to education. It is not enough to know how education takes place; it is of the utmost importance for the educational worker to see clearly the *direction* in which the process is taking place. Change always takes place in a given direction, although the direction may be modified from time to time and we may not be clearly aware of the goal, or changes of goal, toward which an actual change takes place. These two aspects of education, process and purpose, are complementary.

The educator, then, must be fully conscious of the dual aspect of education. He must be fully alive to the goals toward which the educative process should move if he is to be effective. An important statement of the purpose of education in a democratic society that has found increasing acceptance among this generation of educational workers comes from the now famous *Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary School*, of the National Education Association, made in 1918. In this report the over-all purpose of education was stated to be:

> To develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.[1]

[1] *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.* U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1918, No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 9.

A more comprehensive statement from the pen of a well-known contemporary educator graphically sets forth the place of purpose in education and also suggests the dual aspects of education, the purpose and the process, in these words:

The end of education is to be found in neither the one period nor the other [child or adult], but rather in the growth of the power of the learner to cope with this environment—a growth which is nurtured through a direct participation in the life of the group and through a vicarious participation in the racial experience. . . . The child should be equipped to perform many of the activities adults perform, but often on a more generous scale and according to an improved pattern. Even so, the aim is not to prepare him for adult life, but to give him mastery over his world and to make him a guardian of the spiritual possessions of the groups.[1]

Another writer expresses the dual nature of education very succinctly in these words: "The various processes conditioning the growth and development of childhood and youth to participate in the life of society make up what is known as education."[2]

A definition of education. The foregoing discussion has revealed the dual aspects of process and purpose in any adequate conception of education. It would seem pertinent at this point to consider a definition of education that may be accepted as basic and dynamic in all discussions in this book. It is expected that the reader will want to think through for himself the meaning of education for a democratic society; but he can sharpen his critical approach by clearly understanding the conception of education on which this book is based. For the purpose of this book *the function of education is conceived to be the adjustment of man to his environment, which contemplates man's adaptation to and the reconstruction of his environment to the end that the most enduring satisfactions may accrue to the individual and to society.*

Thoughtful students will recognize at once that the conception of adjustment here is a twofold and dynamic one. Among too many adults education is thought of wholly as a function of adaptation.

[1] George S. Counts, "Some Notes on the Foundations of Curriculum Making," *Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* Part II. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1926, pp. 74-75.

[2] George M. Wiley, Jr., *The Redirection of Secondary Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, p. 1.

the life of his people before what we call civilization came to the islands, "Before the white man came to our beautiful islands life here was wonderful. The great God had been good to us. In this warm climate we had little need of clothes. What covering we needed was easily fashioned from the bark of trees or the grass at our feet. The ocean and streams had all the fish we could eat, and they were easy to catch. We could get all the berries, fruits, and nuts we wanted to eat. A small patch of taro near our grass hut gave us our poi. We had most of our time free to enjoy ourselves." Adaptation for primitive man in his most primitive state was indeed simple, and it was more so where the climate was mild and nature generous with her food resources.

Now, however, man has succeeded in creating for himself a complex environment in response to his multiplied wants; the more complex his world becomes the greater are the adaptive demands upon man. He is often far removed from the natural resources that made life for primitive man relatively simple. If he lives in a modern city, he cannot take his foodstuffs simply from an abundantly supplied near-by stream, field, or forest, nor can he get clothing or shelter by the simple expedient of draping himself with a few animal skins or seeking out a cave or crude shelter from the raw materials of nature. Today a man who seeks food must make very careful adaptations to an elaborate but not too flexible economic-social system. He must develop marketable skills, in all probability not remotely related to trapping wild life or growing other raw foodstuffs; sell those skills, often by meeting the complicated requirements of a labor system which in turn markets those skills to the employer; accommodate himself to the conditions of employment prevalent in the place where he works; accept the token medium of exchange for his labor; and seek out a particular retail center where the product desired is for sale at a price. If it is food in quantity he seeks, it is likely that the product is uncooked. He must meet certain conditions before this food is edible, for under modern conditions very few uncooked foods are free from contaminations that make them unsafe for consumption unless they are properly prepared. He will not be permitted to start a fire when and where he pleases, even if he is fortunate enough to secure the necessary materials for a fire. He must adapt himself to very stringent regulations governing fire hazards, as well as to sanitary and other restrictions on where and

how food can be prepared. The adaptive demands made by this single phase of modern life must be multiplied almost infinitely for us to appreciate the extent of adaptive skill required of man in his complex environment.

Peculiarly enough, man has not been satisfied with the simplicities of primitive life. There has been a restlessness about man that has made him refuse to accept things as they are. It has been a characteristic of his genius that has set him apart as unique in his world. He has made adaptations where they were necessary but has sought continually to reconstruct his environment to serve his own comfort and advancement. Ironically, the more complex the environmental situation man has imposed upon himself by his artificial wants and created values becomes, the more insistent and extensive become his demands for a reconstruction of his environment so that his new desires may be satisfied. Today, the products of his reconstructive genius are monumental and far-reaching in their nature and importance. As each day brings new evidence of man's conquest of his environment through his ability to reconstruct it, it becomes more imperative that this phase of the educative function receive greater attention.

The complexities that have resulted from man's efforts to reconstruct his physical world have greatly and seriously affected man's social environment. The social adaptations required of primitive man were few—group life centered principally about the family. Beyond the family there was a rather simple organization of the group into clans or tribes, with few adaptive requirements imposed on individual tribesmen. As man forsook the simple nomadic type of life for the more complex existence associated with permanent homes, cultivated properties, and shared group activities (as in manufacture), his problems of social adjustment multiplied. They have continued to increase at a bewildering tempo as man has stepped up his efforts to reconstruct his physical environment. Shared possessions, shared activities, shared responsibilities. and, in no small measure, even shared living in modern society have required new and difficult modes of social adjustment. It is clear from our previous discussion that many of the problems man has faced in adjusting to a complex physical world were in fact the result of his very attempt to adjust. When man lived in a measure of isolation, family from family and tribe from tribe, social contacts were

limited. Add to this the fact that a man could usually pack all he owned on his back, and the social problems are seen to be few and simple. The adaptation of behavior to the rules governing social relationships was easily understood and achieved.

All this has undergone profound change with the complexities of modern civilization. Possessions have become extensive; they cannot be carried with us wherever we go. We frequently are forced to come in contact with the properties of others. Children and youths, to say nothing of adults, must learn the meaning of "mine" and "thine" and a proper regard for the things of others, be they small personal possessions or large properties such as buildings, which should not be defaced, or street lights, which should not be broken. Compact forms of living—houses only a few feet apart, apartment dwellings, rooming houses, and hotels—suggest social conditions that require a very high degree of adaptive behavior and understanding. Add to this our modern types of transportation, and the complex problems of social adjustment become apparent. Where youths in primitive society had one simple adaptation to make to the social world, modern youths have innumerable complex behavior adaptations to make. It is equally clear that the reconstructive function of education at this point is much more important and difficult of achievement. With every change in man's complex mode of living, society must consider either the modification of our social patterns of adaptation or scrapping them and adopting new ones. To create new rules which will insure "that the most enduring satisfactions may accrue to the individual and to society" is not easy. Yet nothing is more imperative than that oncoming generations be equipped with the necessary competencies to adjust to the needs of their changing physical world. We have suffered a severe cultural lag because scientific development has advanced in its reconstruction of our physical world far beyond our willingness or ability, probably both, to match physical reconstruction with appropriate social reconstruction. Education in the future must give much more attention to the social environment. Youth must be made constructively critical of our social "rules of the road," many of which have become obsolete with changed conditions and others of which are obsolescent. Those that are obsolete should be eliminated and new ones should be created to serve contemporary needs; where modifications

are necessary, they should be made. To create new modes of social thought and behavior is a key function of modern education.

Thus far the adjustment function has been thought of in relation to man's physical and social environment. This is far too narrow a view. Man is not only a social being in a physical world, important as that phase of his life is; he does not find all or even his greatest satisfactions in life in the realm of the material. Man also has profound spiritual aspirations—"Man shall not live by bread alone." One need only consider the history of the thought-life of the race to find how extensively man has philosophized on the nature of the cosmos and his relationship to it. It is important for education to recognize the tremendous significance of man's view of the cosmos and his relationship to it.

It is unfortunate if a person reaches maturity without being able to recognize and identify himself with any great spiritual forces in the universe. Too often he has not been able to recognize any great cosmic forces that give purpose, meaning, and a timeless quality to life. Such a person's adjustments must remain inadequate and his spiritual integration with his world incomplete.

What is the task of education in society? Our definition of education has emphasized adjustment toward individual and group goals. It is clear that the over-all educational task in any society has been, and in the future will be, to make oncoming generations acceptable functioning members of the group of which they are a part. This task involves, broadly, the achievement of a threefold purpose. The general pattern of behavior approved by the culture in question must be fully understood by the youthful neophyte; he must know what the rules to which he is expected to conform are. Whatever the group philosophy of society is, the learner must understand it if his adjustments are to be effective. Clearly, then, to teach everyone to *understand* the approved cultural environmental behavior patterns of the group is one basic task of education in any society.

A second basic task of education is to teach the *skills* that will enable people to adjust efficiently to the approved behavior patterns demanded of them. As society has taken on the characteristics of civilization, it has become evident that the skills required for successful adjustment have become more numerous and more complex.

Still a third task of education is to inculcate in youth the approved *attitudes* of the group. The importance of group loyalties has been recognized in all ages among all peoples; primitive man recognized the unity of the clan or tribe as the first essential to group safety. The efforts to create national loyalties for the group and its way of life among modern nations attest its recognized place in the educational program of contemporary society.

What is the task of education in a democracy? The specific task of education in any given culture will depend upon the basic philosophy of life and government held by the particular group in question. It is of the greatest importance, therefore, to distinguish clearly between the task of education in a democracy and the task of education in an authoritarian system. At no point should it be forgotten that the over-all nature and purpose of education remains the same irrespective of the type of society for which it is utilized. The emphasis, however, in both functions and purpose, may vary greatly. In fact these differences of emphasis are of the utmost significance when we try to think clearly about the task of education in a democratic society.

Often the best way to see a specific task clearly is to contrast it with another task. This is of particular value as we try to understand the task of education in our democracy because of the challenges democracy has received in recent years. The two forms of life and government seeking supremacy in our world today are democracy and authoritarianism, sometimes identified with totalitarianism. America has stood as the exemplar of the democratic ideal in life and government. The former governments of Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini exemplified the authoritarian conception of life and government.

The adjustment function is considered basic in education for both democratic and authoritarian types of society. The nature and direction of the emphasis, however, differ significantly; in fact, the difference amounts almost to an insuperable gulf between them. In an authoritarian form of society one person or a few people determine what the goals of the society shall be and what behavior patterns are to be approved and followed by the citizens. All major activities are determined by the one or few at the top, and any changes in the behavior patterns for that type of society come as a fiat deci-

sion from the acknowledged head of the group. It is not expected or permitted that such decisions should be questioned; automatic, unquestioned obedience to decrees is the ideal in such a society. It is clear that adaptation is the major role of education in an authoritarian society. A person is considered to be an ideally behaving member of the group when he is able to adapt himself most completely and quickly to the environment as he finds it; in fact, he is likely to receive specific instructions on *how* to adapt. It is unimportant that he does not know why he behaves as he does, so long as he understands what is expected of him. The reconstruction function of education has no place in a truly authoritarian society. Change and the form it should take are the sole prerogatives of the one or few in authority.

Contrast this with the adjustment functions in a democratic society. In a democratic society every member is the equal of every other member of the group. Along with his fellow members he determines the nature of the social environment and, to some extent, the physical environment in which he is to live. By the same token, he must accept similar responsibility for any environmental reconstruction that takes place. Under these circumstances the adaptive function of education is a matter of great importance. Necessary adaptations must be made. The difference is, and this difference is fundamental, that in a democracy every citizen can decide, in every situation where adaptation is desirable but not a necessity, whether he will adapt, not adapt, or adapt only in part. Everyone is largely free to choose how he will adapt within the limits imposed by the nature of the required adaptation. In the area of reconstruction the adjustment function of education in a democracy assumes primary importance. Unless the citizen is fully competent to determine whether, what, and how reconstruction of the environment should take place, serious shortcomings are likely to accrue to society. There is, in the last analysis, no one else upon whom the responsibility may devolve. Unless the individual citizen within a democracy is capable of intelligent reconstruction of his environment, progress is stymied. The development of competencies for reconstruction, then, is a vital part of the educational process in a democracy. It is, if anything, more important than the adaptive function.

In this reconstruction function the threefold purpose of education is as different when applied to authoritarian and democratic societies

as in the adjustment function. *Understanding* as an educational goal in authoritarianism is strictly limited to the citizen's bare awareness that certain behavior patterns are expected of him. It is not considered in the best interest of the vested authority that the reasons for, or even the basic nature of, these behavior patterns should be understood. The less a person knows about any other environment than the one he is in, the better. It is also undesirable that he should be aware of other possible ways of adjustment within his environmental situation—at least, he should not feel that there might be anything meritorious in another form of adjustment. In a democracy it is considered an educational "must" that the citizen should achieve the largest measure of understanding possible about his environment and the nature of the society of which he is a part, as well as of all other forms of society experienced by man. It is the purpose of education to point out just what environmental adjustments are possible, so that those being educated can make intelligent decisions in their own interest and that of the group.

The same basic difference exists with respect to the acquisition of *skills* and *attitudes*. Authoritarianism is interested in a limited number of specific skills adequate only for the particular purpose required. The ideal is to tie the achievement of adaptive skills to a limited number of environmental situations. Too much freedom of action (that is, the possession of too many adaptive skills) is frowned upon by authoritarian societies. The converse is true of a democracy; here it is highly desirable that citizens possess many adaptive skills. Further, it is desirable in a democracy that every citizen acquire broad social skills as well as vocational skills. The widest educational differences between authoritarianism and democracy appear in relationship to the development of *attitudes*. Authoritarianism is concerned only with the development of uncompromising and unquestioning attitudes of loyalty to the existing society. Its education is directed toward the inculcation of blind loyalties to the existing authority, whatever it is; it discourages the development of thoughtful, reasoned patriotism. Democracy, on the other hand, holds as the educational ideal that attitudes should be reasoned, as far as possible, and at least intelligent. It does expect its citizen to develop attitudes of loyalty to the democratic way of life, primarily by studying the relative merits of democracy versus other forms of group life.

How is the task of the school related to other educational agencies?

What are the nonschool educational agencies? When the average person speaks of education, he immediately thinks of the school. It is but natural that he should do so; in his general reading and in his direct experience with the formal processes of education the school has represented education. It is necessary to recognize that the school must see itself in relation to other important educative agencies. The importance of these other agencies of educative influence has been well expressed by Counts:

> The school is but one among many educational agencies and forces of society. . . . During the pre-school age his education is largely in the hands of his parents; during the period of school attendance the home, the playground, the theatre, the church, and the community perpetually engage his attention; and after his school days are over, shop, factory, club, civic organization, and political party exercise increasing dominion over him. . . . Consequently, anyone who constructs a program of education on the assumption that the school is the only important institution and that the highly specialized character of its educational contribution need not be considered, is building on the sands. Only as the school recognizes the work of other institutions can it perform its own functions effectively.[4]

Throughout the previous discussion in this book education has been thought of in its widest possible ramifications. From this point on we shall think of education primarily in relationship to some agency that gives it conscious direction, although the broader aspects of education must be kept in mind. This approach to the problem of education is well expressed in a report from a committee of which Thomas H. Briggs was chairman in these words:

> *"Education" as the term is used in this discussion, implies every phase of the process by which society as a whole, or any of its agencies, consciously seeks to develop socially significant abilities and characteristics in its members.*[5]

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[4] George S. Counts, "The Foundations of Curriculum Building," The National Society for the Study of Education, *Twenty-sixth Yearbook,* Part II. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1926, p. 75.

[5] Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, *Issues of Secondary Education,* Vol. 20. No. 59, p. 24. Bulletin of the Department of Secondary-School Principals. Chicago: National Education Association, January, 1936.

The problems of education can be solved only by a realistic consideration of all the agencies of society that consciously attempt to influence the thought and behavior of the citizen. Some of the most important of the nonschool agencies will be briefly considered.

THE HOME: Historically *the home antedates all other institutional agencies concerned with the education of the child.* In early society it assumed major responsibility for developing children into valuable working members of the group. Parents taught their children how to get along with others, to share the responsibilities of the family group, to know and respect the elemental rules laid down by the family and the larger social group of which the family was a part. It was here that children first learned group loyalties and the simple skills of communication necessary for social intercourse. The elementary vocational skills essential to a livelihood were also the product of home education.

Although many other agencies have come to compete with the educational activities of the home, it has remained a primary, if not the most important, educational agency. It is still in the home that children learn the rudiments of the spoken language and gain no little effectiveness in its use. It is here that rudimentary socialization takes place, that children acquire the important social skills that enable them to make the major adjustments to the rules of society and thus become tolerated, if not always accepted, members of the community. *How free a child is from adjustment handicaps as he tries to face the world about him depends largely upon the educational effectiveness of his home.* As far as the future can be foreseen the home will remain a vital factor at least in the early formative period of life.

THE CHURCH: Next to the home in historical importance as an educational agency stands the church. At times in history it has appeared to rival the home in importance as an educational agency. Certainly, side by side, *these two institutions for centuries complemented each other educationally and gave the child his principal direct education.*

Religion is universal; man's desire to give expression to his religious impulses appears to be an inherent characteristic. Very early in human history, *side by side* with the home, the institution of religion, familiarly known in our Western culture as the church, was set up. It became the center of religious worship and the source of

instruction in religion. As time passed, the church tended to extend the range of its instructional activities to include those areas of educational need not provided for by the home or which the church seemed better able to supplement. In some cultures the institutions of religion are the principal agencies of formal education. In America only a few religious groups attempt to provide elaborate general educational opportunities in addition to their programs of religious instruction. At the present time about 10 per cent of the elementary-school children and about 9 per cent of the secondary-school youths of America are receiving formal, full-time educational instruction in church-provided schools. Although almost all churches sponsor some type of college education, the church as a whole in the United States has not attempted to compete with the public school in general education. It has given its major attention to the aspects of worship and instruction in religion.

It should not for a moment be assumed that the church is no longer an important educational agency; it has always maintained that religion is concerned with the well-being of society. It is a way of life as well as a system of beliefs held by the devoted worshiper. Consequently, the practice of religion involves also a standard and quality of living. Conduct is regarded as very important as an outward expression of religion. Ethical relationships, therefore, are important in the expression of religious ideals. Religion, it may be recognized at once, is vitally concerned with the social quality of man's behavior as well as of his thinking. Church groups vary in their emphasis upon these aspects of religion, but all accept the quality of man's behavior as well as his beliefs as aspects of religion. Like the home, the church has not maintained its older place of importance in America as an agency of education. Many of the same forces that have rendered the home less vital as an educational medium have also affected the church. It should be quite clear, however, that to the extent that religion is regarded as valuable to society the church must remain an important educational agency. The historic principle of separation of church and state in America makes the teaching of specific religious doctrine the responsibility of the church.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: Many organizations found in our communities today are important educational agencies. Held in high repute in almost every good-sized community are such well-known

organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the Hi-Y, the Demolays, Job's Daughters, 4-H Clubs, and the Future Farmers of America. These organizations teach their members high ideals and provide opportunities by which these ideals may be translated into appropriate behavior patterns. Everyone is familiar with the Boy Scout slogan "Do a good turn every day." Such organizations satisfy youths' desire to associate with those of their own age in a common bond of social interest and purpose. It would be difficult to overemphasize the socializing values of these organizations; they provide the means by which leadership may be discovered and developed. Self-reliance, initiative, the ability to work easily and effectively with others, and many other social competencies may be expected as the educational by-product of such organizational activity.

Fortunately, many of these organizations maintain most cordial relations with the schools. Such organizations as the Hi-Y and the 4-H Clubs find their principal base of operation in the school. The school has provided a friendly atmosphere in which the Boy and Girl Scouts can work as a center of their activities, and many teachers serve as scoutmasters. In general, the leaders of these organizations bring to their work the highest educational ideals and the best in educational procedures.

THE GOVERNMENT: Here is an educational agency not often thought of in this capacity. The United States Government is one of the most prolific producers of valuable books, pamphlets, and documents of various kinds. The schools have made extensive use of government bulletins and pamphlets. Mothers' clubs, for example, have made extensive use of pamphlets published by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor on such subjects as Prenatal Care, Infant Care, and Child Management. There is not an area of major interest from home to farm to business to professions, and hardly a phase of civic or cultural life, on which some department of the national government is unprepared to give assistance through its prepared materials or direct counsel.

The government also maintains many bureaus and departments with extensive research sections to collect valuable data and carry on valuable experiments not practical or possible for the individual citizen. All these data are available to any individual or group. Conferences and institutes on many problems—such as the well-known

White House Conference on vital social problems—are sponsored by governmental agencies.

State governmental agencies provide similar educational services, though oftentimes they are less extensive. Personal counsel is particularly a feature of the smaller divisions of government.

THE PRESS: The press, like the remaining nonschool agencies to be considered, may not be regarded as an institutional agency in the same sense as we think of the home, the church, community organizations, or the government. By contrast it is, for the most part, a medium for channeling ideas. Commercial publishing companies, in the main, are not so much concerned with the nature of the ideas presented in the materials they publish as they are that the ideas therein are of broad enough interest and so expressed as to make people buy their newspapers. The newspaper fraternity loudly insists that outside the editorial page it is solely concerned with reporting all the available news without bias or distortion.

The growth of the press over the past half century has been tremendous. Reading has been a major pastime of both youth and age. In one state-wide study of the reading practices of youth it was found that for boys reading ranked second in their leisure-time activities; for girls it was first. The boys devoted approximately 17 per cent and the girls 35 per cent of their leisure time to reading.[6] Recent studies indicate that much of the time previously spent in reading is now devoted to radio and television programs.

The powerful influence of so much reading on young people's thinking cannot be lightly ignored. It would not be so bad if the quality of much of the reading material were educationally good, but a check of the average newsstand will reveal that it is not. Studies of reading habits confirm that much reading is of a quality that has little positive educational value. Much of it must be considered negative in its social influence. The popular materials that deal with the contemporary social scene are likely to be distorted and biased. This bias and distortion are frequently pointed for definite propaganda purposes. An interesting comment on this point

[6] For more details on the reading habits of youth see Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, Chap. 5. Washington. American Council on Education, 1938; Ruth E. Eckert and Thomas O. Marshall, *When Youth Leave School*, Chap. V. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

comes from a newspaper editor addressing a university group on the question of the freedom of the press:

I know of publishers, honorable men, who cast out of their shop patently dishonest advertising, yet their front pages are a mass of dishonest eight-column streamers nearly every day. Some papers feel the compulsion to propagate their owner's social, political and economic ideas in their news columns, unaware that freedom should include freedom of news from color or distortion.[†]

This is serious. For some time our newspapers have been passing *into the hands of powerful owners.* Many communities have, in fact, the services of only one daily paper, though these cities have many newspapers with different names. There is a growing trend for these powerful owners to establish news monopolies. The press has *become big business; it is backed by large aggregations of wealth; it is maintained,* particularly the newspapers and magazines, by huge revenues from the advertising of large business concerns. The natural inclination and interest of owners and advertisers is conservatism *in social, economic, and political outlook; their tendency is to be allergic to any indication of contrary thinking.* The danger arises from the fact that this semipublic channel of necessary and legitimate news and interchange of thought may be misused for the distortion *of the news, vicious one-sided propaganda, or both.*

It is important to a democracy that the press be jealously guarded; it is the first bulwark of freedom and the democratic way of life. Its right to dispense news and ideas must be conditioned always on its demonstrated ability and desire to see that news is complete and free from distortion, and that pertinent ideas of whatever shade of social, economic, and political belief are given equal opportunity to challenge the best thinking of every citizen. This is the essence of democracy.

RADIO AND TELEVISION: Much of what has been said of the press can be said of the radio. Scarcely two generations old, radio already is a mighty force for the dissemination of ideas and the molding of thought. Radios or television sets are now in almost every home. Child and adult watch television in their leisure time. The habit of tuning in the radio for news or some favorite program while at work is quite common. The housewife and the indoor worker en-

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[†] Statement by James S. Pope quoted in *Time,* 51:58, January 26, 1948.

gaged in manipulative skills often find it enjoyable and profitable to listen to a radio program.

However, television is rapidly usurping a large portion of the time previously spent listening to radio programs. Only so many hours each day can be devoted to these activities; survey reports indicate that in the average home 5 hours daily during the winter and slightly under 4 hours daily during the summer are spent watching television.[8] Paul Witty summarizes the result of five studies of the time spent weekly watching television for the years 1950 to 1954. His findings are as follows.[9]

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Elementary school pupils	21	19	22.5	23	21.5
High school pupils		14	14	17	14
Parents	24	20	21	19	16.3
Teachers		9	11	12	11.5

The educational value of this medium of communication appears at this moment almost unlimited. Unfortunately, much of what one hears is of dubious educational value. It requires time for any new device to be fully exploited. Up to the present both radio and television have been greatly handicapped in rendering their most effective educational service because they are being commercially exploited. Radio and television service is expensive to provide. At present it is being provided largely through the advertisers. The widespread use of both media by school systems and universities, however, is suggestive of their noncommercial possibilities. This is a challenge to us to devise ways of opening the radio and television wave channels to more significant educational purposes by making them less dependent upon advertising as a means of support.

Many values of the press are duplicated in the radio, but the color and power of the spoken voice are now added—television adds even more. Important addresses can be heard without abbreviation. Debates, conferences, and similar gatherings of great moment in the formation of public opinion can be made available over the radio and television. To the humblest home now may come

[8] *1955 Information Please Almanac.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955, p. 18.

[9] Paul Witty. "Children and TV—A Fifth Report," *Elementary English,* 31:349-357, October, 1954.

the strains of the world's great symphonies and the best work of modern composers; the leading singers and the best bands may be heard or seen almost at will either in live broadcasts or on recordings.

The same dangers that threaten the press threaten radio and television. The costliness of radio and television maintenance for broadcasting has forced their development to become dependent upon the availability of large financial resources. For the most part, financial groups have sponsored radio and television programs for much the same purpose as they have the press. Thus far government regulatory bodies have tried to cope with some of the most serious problems that naturally arise where such a device is sponsored on a competitive commercial basis.

THE MOTION PICTURE: Slightly older than the radio, the motion picture is another possible medium of great educational value. It is unfortunate, in view of the millions who attend them each week, that the movies have offered so little. Except for the newsreel, which highlights many of the spectacular news events, the average night at the movies offers little of educational significance.

The motion picture could be a tremendous educational force. Industrial organizations have used the motion picture with great success to teach their workers particular skills. The army and navy made extensive use of movies in their training programs. Community farm groups have used movies to teach farmers more efficient and economical ways to produce crops, care for livestock, and improve their homes. Other community groups have utilized the movie just as effectively to promote more sanitary living conditions, to work for community betterment in general, and for the serious or pleasurable study of other cultures. The educational possibilities of the motion picture are legion. There is every reason to believe that the educational use of the motion picture will increase rapidly now that so many youths have had a chance to sense its possibilities from their wartime contacts with it.

What are the functions of the school in relation to the nonschool educational agencies? The school is not the only educative agency in our society, although it may be the most important one. In our democratic society the school is the one agency charged with particular responsibility for the educational welfare of the nation's children and youths. Some people have maintained that the sole function

of the school is a residual one—in short, that whatever educational activities the nonschool agencies are neglecting or have ceased to carry on should become the responsibility of the school. There is no doubt that the school in some measure does have a residual function.[10] But the school in our democratic society is charged with more inclusive and dynamic functions.

Three important elements bear on the general functions of the school in relation to the nonschool educative agencies: (1) the nature of the educational task in our democratic society; (2) the nature of the pupil to be educated; (3) the nature of the educational activities *carried on by nonschool groups*. These, it will be remembered, have already received extended consideration.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL FUNCTION: The home and usually the church come in touch with the child long before the school. Both make far-reaching contributions to the behavior and attitude patterns of the child at a very tender age. In fact, some of these patterns are likely to be deep-seated before the child comes in contact with the school.

When the child first enters school, however, none of these important personal-social skills and attitudes is fully developed. The school must continue to develop these fundamental skills and attitudes in the direction best suited to serve the needs of the child and of society. Likewise, it is important for the school to remember the continued influence of home and church upon the child during the years it shares their educational influence with them. There are many important educational activities that will be carried on by these nonschool agencies. The school should be fully aware of their nature and extent so that the school program can be adjusted accordingly.

Since the changes taking place in our world today are gravely affecting the functioning of these agencies, the school should be alert to any consequent modification of their educational activities. Scores of worth-while educational activities that once were associated with the home, for example, no longer exist. It is the responsibility of the school to see that types of learning experiences no longer available in these institutions, but still regarded as of general significance to society, shall not be lost to the child. Many activities that at one

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[10] For a more detailed discussion of the residual function of the school see Herbert G. Espy, *The Public Secondary School*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939, pp. 438–439.

time were educationally worth while have been dropped by these agencies. Our life of today would not warrant their revival because we no longer need the particular personal or social skills they were designed to develop. On the other hand, changing circumstances have led to the elimination of many learning experiences that still have important educative values. Providing learning experiences with the same educative values but cast in the molds of contemporary life situations should be a supplementary function of the schools.

THE CORRECTIVE FUNCTION: Not all the influences of the non-school educative agencies are educationally good—some are definitely antisocial in their effects and contribute nothing to the achievement of desirable personal skills. In the home, for example, negligence on the part of the parents may result in the lack of the usual social amenities or courtesies expected of normal children of school age. Indifferent or ignorant parents often send to school smelly, unkempt children with filthy clothing, vermin, even contagious diseases likely to endanger the health of others. In one prosperous rural community a recent health examination revealed an almost unbelievable condition of neglect of the simplest health safeguards. School authorities have been hesitant to attack these health problems vigorously because of a belief that such matters lay largely in the educational domain of the home. The school is now beginning to recognize the legitimacy of its corrective function in these matters when they are neglected by the home.

Similar problems arise where illiterate or careless parents allow their children to use bad language and to behave in an unsocial manner. Children from such homes bring very serious handicaps to school with them. Where unsocial behavior is involved, equally serious impacts on the moral life of the other pupils may result. The school has a difficult task in helping the handicapped child overcome his poor language habits. Correcting established patterns of unsocial behavior and the equally unsocial habits of thinking that give rise to the conduct is even harder. With the mounting evidence that many of these serious corrective problems arise from disorganized homes or those in the process of dissolution, thoughtful school people are beginning to question whether this corrective function does not carry the school's responsibility in part back to the source of the difficulty. It is clear that the school must assume more and more

responsibility for the correction of the educational failures of the nonschool agencies.

THE PREVENTIVE FUNCTION: Far more important than correcting faulty education resulting from the activities of the nonschool educative agencies is preventing, where possible, such maleducation from taking place. It is much easier to establish correct habits of thought and action in the initial period of the learning process; it is exceedingly difficult to modify or completely eliminate the bad effects of unsocial attitudes and behavior patterns once they are developed. The school knows well from its own experiences that maleducation often takes years to correct and frequently leaves permanent scars. No better example of the importance of this function seems readily at hand than the problem of the re-education of Germany that confronted the Allies after World War II. Many argued that there was little use trying to change the attitudes and ideals instilled in the present generation of young men and women through their formative school years; they urged that major attention should be given to the children and youths not seriously indoctrinated with Nazi ideologies.

The steadily growing number of agencies and forces that exert an influence upon the attitudes, ideals, and behavior of Americans of all ages has become a matter of deep concern to thoughtful educators. The prevention of possible maleducation at its source seems to these men to be yet another task of the schools, and one that they must address themselves to in the future with much greater vigor than they have in the past. The schools cannot, of course, do this alone, but they must be the source of leadership in creating an awareness of the problem, suggesting ways to solve it, and acting on their suggestions.

THE INTEGRATIVE FUNCTION: Students of modern education agree that there should be a unity of educational impact upon the learner from all the sources of his learning experiences. If this is to be achieved, there must be some way to coordinate the work of the school and nonschool agencies in providing learning experiences for children and youth. It is very disconcerting for the youthful learner to discover that important and respected institutional agencies do not share the same ideals of social behavior, or do not seem to maintain the same attitudes toward issues of human concern, whether social, economic, or political. These agencies often conflict in ad-

vancing their respective ideas and purposes. The lack of coordination or integration in their over-all thinking, activities, and purposes may have unfortunate educational results.

There is general agreement that the educative work of these agencies should be better integrated. But how is it to be done and by whom? In an earlier period of our history the church served as the *principal integrator of the educative agencies in existence*, but that is now out of the question. The church is not as much a common denominator in the lives of our people as it once was; it comes in touch with less than half the population. Nor can the home be that common denominator; parents have enough to occupy their time. Outside the school these are the only educative agencies that might even lay claim to consideration. On the other hand, the school touches every community and almost every home in a vital way. As *the responsible agency of education*, it carries a virtual mandate to exercise this function.

The Custodial Function: This is a very important function of the school in our democratic society; in fact, it has been an important function of the school in almost every society. In many cultures the primary function of the school has been to conserve the traditions of the culture in question. For the preservation of certain types of social and spiritual-religious values the home and the church have assumed the responsibility. *We are debtors to the past for many* achievements that enrich our lives; we need only mention here our highly structured language systems and our complex systems of numbers and symbols of quantitative thinking. The student can catalogue these contributions from the past *ad infinitum*, but it should be remembered that not everything in the history of the past has value for today.

The custodial function of the school in America, however, is unique. Whereas *the school of an authoritarian society must be concerned primarily with the preservation of the status quo*, the transmission of the thinking and behavior patterns of the past, the schools of a democracy must be concerned primarily with the *preservation of the broad ideals of that society*. The task of the democratic school becomes one of inculcating in the child the ideals of a way of life rather than a specific rote way of thinking and behaving. This does not mean that the school in America is indifferent to our so-called cultural heritage. The school is concerned with the preservation of

the past only in so far as the past contributes to the solution of our problems of today and tomorrow, within the framework of our unique form of society. Since the basis of the democratic ideal is the search for better ways to give expression to its way of life, the school must assert the principles of freedom and the obligations of society to study critically and experiment with society's customs, conventions, and *mores*, and to change them when a change seems necessary to achieve the ideals of democracy more completely.

THE CREATIVE FUNCTION: Some nonschool agencies are conservative in outlook and are reluctant to change; they tend to cling to the past and to be reactionary in attitude. At times they become so enamored of the old that they identify the virtues of their objectives or ideals with some obsolete rule they regard as sacrosanct. Other agencies are on the alert for newer ways of doing things, but do not consider the end results in terms of the good or ill of society. As a result, these agencies frequently are consciously or unconsciously in conflict with one another. Little creative direction can be expected from these quarters.

We must be fully aware that, as our experience ripens, we often discover that the meaning with which we clothed the ideal of democracy has undergone some modification; the ideal has taken on enriched meaning and requires some reconstruction, however slight. The 22 amendments to our Constitution clearly reveal this truth.

The school is the agency best suited for this creative function. Not only must the school zealously guard the principle that a democracy should be free to change its rules in the interest of its own betterment, but also it has a definite responsibility to help society develop the know-how to be constructively creative. Our democratic society must be aware of the dynamic changes taking place in the world today, and should be fully conscious of the possible implications for itself of these changes. The school must also teach its pupils to watch for more effective ways of achieving the basic ideals of our democracy. There are many who maintain that the creative function of the school goes beyond this; they insist that it is the duty of the school to sense the significance for our society of changes now taking place, to determine in some detail what our democracy would be like if it were brought into harmony with the best of these changes, and then to decide quite clearly the

rules for the achievement of this utopia. This is the position of the "reconstructionist" in educational philosophy. Whether the educational worker is ready to accept the full import of the "reconstructionist" point of view or not, there can be no question that the school in our society must in the future accept responsibility for a more dynamic creative function than it has exercised in the past.

THE STIMULATIVE-INSPIRATIONAL FUNCTION: The various functions of the school cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of frigid intellectualism. Much of the failure of education in the past can be laid to its neglect of the emotional nature of man. In fact, the strongest claim to educational effectiveness some of the nonschool educational agencies have is their appeal to man's emotions: the appeal to the eye and the imagination of color, pageantry, and stirring action and the appeal to the ear of music and trained voices have given the sound movie a tremendous hold on youth. The same appeal to emotion is a powerful factor in the hold that character-building organizations have had upon youth. To a lesser extent the church has also used the appeal to the emotions.

The school must acknowledge the truth of the statement attributed to the late G. Stanley Hall that "man is a speck afloat on a sea of feeling." If it is to carry its functions through effectively, the intellectual elements of its message must be shot through with emotional warmth and color. In a sense it will be necessary for the school to compete with and excel the nonschool agencies in emotional appeal if it is to take its proper place of leadership in the co-ordinative, corrective, preventative, and creative functions. The school must stimulate an emotional loyalty for democracy in the citizen along with an intelligent understanding of democracy's true meaning. Youths particularly should leave the school strongly motivated to sustain by every means the democratic way of life.

THE EVALUATIVE FUNCTION: Finally, the school must assume the major role of evaluator of the total educational impact of all agencies of society on the life and thought of the citizen—young or old. It must evaluate also how well it has discharged the functions specifically assigned to it. Only from such an over-all appraisal can the school make its plans for the future.

The school alone need not bear the burden of the task of evaluation. *Modern education suggests that the best evaluation is obtained when all the interested parties participate.* The process itself can

be made a valuable educative experience for the agencies involved. At the same time the school can, through this shared experience, discharge some of the functions committed to it.

What is the task of the school in a democratic society?

A consideration of the purposes of education has occupied an important place in our educational literature.[11] The extent of these discussions of educational purposes is indicative of their recognized importance. The necessity of awareness and acceptance of a set of purposes or objectives to guide the school in its educational task is taken for granted. At the same time it is doubtful whether any other phase of the total problem of education is less well understood by the rank-and-file educational worker. Consequently, it is not surprising that statements of educational purpose have had relatively little effect upon the work of the ordinary school and classroom. The acceptance of these statements of purpose and their formulation by the school worker too often have not meant the translation of these purposes into action. Apparently far too few of those who were supposed to apply these objectives to the educational process have clearly understood their importance.

It is for this reason that we have examined so closely in these opening chapters the nature of democracy, the nature of the learner, and the nature of the world in which the learner must live. It is out of this milieu that educational purposes are derived.

There have been many lists of purposes or objectives for the school prepared by individuals or organizational groups. A few of the more important lists will be discussed in the following pages.

HERBERT SPENCER (1859): Herbert Spencer, one of England's great educational scholars, was one of the first modern educational writers to think of education in terms of the full orbit of "complete living." He set forth the over-all purpose in a now famous essay, "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth," in these words:

a citizen; in what way to utilize all those sources of happiness which nature supplies—how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others—how to live completely? And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare for complete living is the function which education has to discharge. . . . It behooves us to set before ourselves, and ever to keep clearly in view, complete living as the end to be achieved; so that in bringing up our children we may choose subjects and methods of instruction with deliberate reference to this end.[12]

Spencer then suggested that to evaluate how well this general purpose was achieved every effort should be made "to classify, in the order of their importance, the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life." This classification of life needs and activities in turn would become the basis for the determination of the major objectives of education. Spencer's classification, presented in order of importance as judged by him, was:

1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation. (Health –Safety)
2. Those activities which, by securing the necessaries of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation. (Vocation)
3. Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring. (Family)
4. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations. (Citizenship)
5. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings. (Leisure time)[13]

It was Spencer's conviction that education should be functional—that it should help all people of whatever walk of life to discharge more effectively the daily duties of life. Spencer's five categories are actually today the major purposes of education, for which the schools seek to prepare all children and youth. In Spencer's day, however, most of the activities suggested in the five categories above were not emphasized in the schools of England; in fact, some were entirely neglected. To emphasize how absurd it was to neglect these necessary types of educational activities, Spencer makes this observation on the neglect of any preparation for family life:

12 Herbert Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1861, pp. 11–12.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

We now come to the third great division of human activities—a division for which no preparation whatever is made. . . . Is it not an astonishing fact that though on the treatment of offspring depend their lives or deaths, and their moral welfare or ruin; yet not one word of instruction on the treatment of offspring is ever given to those who will hereafter be parents? Is it not monstrous that the fate of a new generation should be left to the chances of unreasoning custom, impulse, fancy? [14]

The student of education who is interested in the development of a more functional type of educational program for the schools of our country may well study the educational proposals of Spencer. Written almost a century ago, these suggestions for the purposes of education have value for us today. It is only within this generation that the basic plan for the discovery of functional objectives suitable for the schools of a democratic society has found a sympathetic following in American education.

FRANKLIN BOBBITT (1924, 1941). The most thorough-going disciple of the Spencerian idea that the purposes of education should be derived from an analysis of the activities of man's life has undoubtedly been Franklin Bobbitt. He has done more than any other man in American education to popularize this idea. His point of view is made unmistakably clear in these words:

When we know what men and women ought to do along the many lines and levels of human experience, then we shall have before us the things for which they should be trained. The first task is to discover the activities which ought to make up the lives of men and women; and along with these, the abilities and personal qualities necessary for proper performance. These are the educational objectives. The plan to be employed is activity-analysis. . . . At all stages of the analysis, attention should be fixed upon the actual activities of mankind.[15]

Bobbitt made extensive surveys of the actual activities engaged in by persons in all walks of life in many communities and asked thousands of people which of these activities they thought were desirable. From these data, Bobbitt determined what he considered the actual and desirable activities of a normally functioning person. These activities were classified in broad functional categories; the ten areas of human activities suggested were:

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
[15] Franklin Bobbitt, *How To Make a Curriculum.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, p. 8.

1. Language activities; social intercommunication
2. Health activities
3. Citizenship activities
4. *General social activities—meeting and mingling with others*
5. Spare time activities, amusements, recreations
6. Keeping one's self mentally fit—analogous to the health activities of keeping one's self physically fit
7. Religious activities
8. Parental activities, the upbringing of children, the maintenance of a proper home life
9. Unspecialized or non-vocational practical activities
10. The labors of one's calling [16]

These ten areas of activities become, in turn, the major objectives of education (Bobbitt points out that "the two are cognate, but not identical"). These *major objectives* are *further broken down into* scores of specific objectives. Bobbitt's ten objectives had wide usage for many years. The activity analysis technique basic to the determination of these objectives had extensive vogue during the 1910's and early 1920's. Later Bobbitt enlarged his ten areas to eighteen and labeled them "The Areas of the Good Life." This second list, less known, comprises the original ten areas further subdivided. [17]

The fact that both Spencer and Bobbitt thought of these activities most in relation to adult life is important. It is characteristic of most lists of objectives or attempts at activity analysis, up until recent years, that they have been based upon what adults do or what the needs of adults are thought to be. The preparation for the long period of adult life—"the fifty years of adult life"—as Bobbitt asserts, is certainly the major responsibility of the school. However, modern education emphasizes the centrality of childhood and youth experiences as the media of education. Objectives, then, should be based upon an analysis of both the activities children and youth must engage in as adults and the activities they do engage in at present. Today we recognize that in growing up children acquire the fundamental competencies they will need to have in more efficient and complex patterns as adults. The achievements of the two age groups are not divisible.

COMMISSION ON THE REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (1918): The statement of objectives by this Commission is popularly thought of as restricted to the secondary school. They were developed, however, as "the main objectives that should guide education in a democracy." [18] More specifically it was declared that "The objectives outlined above apply to education as a whole--elementary, secondary, and higher." These objectives have a twofold basis for their validity. First, as a statement of a fundamental philosophy of society and education:

> Education in the United States should be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy. It is the idea of democracy that the individual and society may find fulfillment each in the other. . . . More explicitly--*The purpose of democracy is so to organize society that each member may develop his personality primarily through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and of society as a whole.* . . . For the achievement of these ends democracy must place chief reliance upon education. Consequently, education in a democracy, *both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.* [19]

The second basis for the validity of these objectives was found in the media of their discovery: "In order to determine the main objectives that should guide education in a democracy it is necessary to analyze the activities of the individual."

After some discussion of the implications of this approach, the Commission listed the now famous seven objectives derived by the activity analysis technique:

1. Health
2. Command of fundamental processes
3. Worthy home-membership
4. Vocation
5. Citizenship
6. Worthy use of leisure
7. Ethical character [20]

[18] *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.* United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1918, No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 9.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

A comparison of these objectives with those of Spencer and Bobbitt reveals great similarity. Spencer did not include Nos. 2 and 7; Bobbitt omitted No. 1. It is not so easy to account for the omission of No. 2 by Spencer, nor the omission of No. 7 by both is understandable. Ethical character in and of itself is not a legitimate objective in the same sense as the others; many modern educators have rejected it as an objective, claiming that it is a result of the realization of all the others and cannot stand alone as a form of activity. It is a tribute to Spencer that his purposes, arrived at over half a century before and in another country, anticipated so fully those of the Commission and Bobbitt. Spencer's basic technique, like that of Spencer and Bobbitt, was activity analysis.

This statement of objectives by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education has had more influence on educational thinking in America than any other statement of objectives formulated to date. This influence, in part, grows out of the educational significance of the total report of the Commission. The report, one of a series of pronouncements made by Committees of the National Education Association since 1893, completely reversed the trends of education in vogue for over a quarter of a century. These seven objectives grew out of the efforts of the Commission to give realistic arguments for this about-face in educational thinking in America. Because these objectives appeared in the document entitled *Cardinal Principles of Education* they are sometimes erroneously referred to as the "Seven Cardinal Principles of Education."

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GOALS FOR AMERICA (1933): The National Education Association became concerned with the possibilities of a restatement of our educational goals during the early years of the 1930's. We were then passing through an unprecedented period of social-economic maladjustment. It seemed desirable to re-explore the adequacy of our educational purposes for conditions like those the nation faced. A committee appointed in 1931 to restudy our educational objectives, since called the Committee on Socio-Economic Goals for America, made its report in 1933. They developed a statement of objectives now known as the "Ten Desirable Social-Economic Goals of America."

1. Hereditary strength
2. Physical security
3. Participation in an evolving culture

4. An active, flexible personality
5. Suitable occupation
6. Economic security
7. Mental security
8. Equality of opportunity
9. Freedom
10. Fair play [21]

This statement of objectives bases its validity not on the analysis of life activities but on the ideals of our American democracy. These ideals, the Committee believed, were to be found clearly stated in our federal Constitution. They began with the statement of the lofty aspirations found in the preamble and followed it by six other ideals of our democracy to be found in the Constitution:

1. Freedom of worship, speech, and the press
2. The right to petition
3. Impartial trial
4. The sacredness of life and liberty against impairment without due process of law
5. Special privilege to none
6. The opportunity of every individual for the full development of his own capacities unhindered by accidents of birth and social status

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION (1938): The Educational Policies Commission, made up of representatives of the American Association of School Administrators and other members of the National Education Association, in 1935 began to prepare still another statement of educational purposes. This statement was released in 1938.

This statement of objectives is also based on the democratic ideal as found in the Constitution. Against a back-drop of such familiar captions as "the general welfare," "civil liberty," "the consent of the governed," "the appeal to reason," and "the pursuit of happiness," the Commission attempts to set the philosophic standards by which to judge educational purposes for the school. As the Commission stated:

[21] "What Are Desirable Social-Economic Goals for America?" *Journal of the National Education Association,* 23 6–12, January, 1934. See also elaborated discussion of these goals in *Implications of Social-Economic Goals for America.* Washington: National Education Association, 1937.

The general end of education in America at the present time is the fullest possible development of the individual within the framework of *our present industrialized democratic society. The attainment of this end* is to be observed in individual behavior or conduct. . . . Ideals and values derive their entire practical importance from the behavior which results from them.[22]

The Commission has followed a unique plan, for it has tried to determine "the desirable elements of information, skill, habit, interest and attitude which will most surely promote individual development and encourage democratic ways of living." [23] The standards of desirable behavior are set against a quality of activity descriptive of "an educated person." Four aspects of educational purpose are identified:

1. The Objectives of Self-Realization
2. The Objectives of Human Relationship
3. The Objectives of Economic Efficiency
4. The Objectives of Civic Responsibility [24]

Because there is abundant evidence that this statement of objectives by the Commission has and will continue to have great influence on educational thinking and practice in America, the full list of characteristics of behavior given for the four major groups is presented:

THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

The Inquiring Mind. The educated person has an appetite for learning.

Speech. The educated person can speak the mother tongue clearly.

Reading. The educated person reads the mother tongue efficiently.

Writing. The educated person writes the mother tongue effectively.

Number. The educated person solves his problems of counting and calculating.

Sight and Hearing. The educated person is skilled in listening and observing.

Health Knowledge. The educated person understands the basic facts concerning health and disease.

[22] Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy.* Washington: National Education Association, 1938, p. 41.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 42.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 47.

Health Habits. The educated person protects his own health and that of his dependents.

Public Health. The educated person works to improve the health of the community.

Recreation. The educated person is participant and spectator in many sports and pastimes.

Intellectual Interest. The educated person has mental resources for the use of leisure.

Aesthetic Interests. The educated person appreciates beauty.

Character. The educated person gives responsible direction to his own life.

THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

Respect for Humanity. The educated person puts human relationships first.

Friendships. The educated person enjoys a rich, sincere, and varied social life.

Cooperation. The educated person can work and play with others.

Courtesy. The educated person observes the amenities of social behavior.

Appreciation of the Home. The educated person appreciates the family as a social institution.

Conservation of the Home. The educated person conserves family ideals.

Homemaking. The educated person is skilled in homemaking.

Democracy in the Home. The educated person maintains democratic family relationships.

THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

Work. The educated producer knows the satisfaction of good workmanship.

Occupational Information. The educated producer understands the requirements and opportunities for various jobs.

Occupational Choice. The educated producer has *selected* his occupation.

Occupational Efficiency. The educated producer succeeds in his chosen vocation.

Occupational Adjustment. The educated producer maintains and improves his efficiency.

Occupational Appreciation. The educated producer appreciates the social value of his work.

Personal Economics. The educated consumer plans the economics of his own life.

Consumer Judgment. The educated consumer develops standards for guiding his expenditures.

Efficiency in Buying. The educated consumer is an informed and skillful buyer.

Consumer Protection. The educated consumer takes appropriate measures to safeguard his interests.

The Objectives of Civic Responsibility

Social Justice. The educated citizen is sensitive to the disparities of human circumstance.

Social Activity. The educated citizen acts to correct unsatisfactory conditions.

Social Understanding. The educated citizen seeks to understand social structures and social processes.

Critical Judgment. The educated citizen has defenses against propaganda.

Tolerance. The educated citizen respects honest differences of opinion.

Conservation. The educated citizen has a regard for the nation's resources.

Social Applications of Science. The educated citizen measures scientific advance by its contribution to the general welfare.

World Citizenship. The educated citizen is a cooperating member of the world community.

Law Observance. The educated citizen respects the law.

Economic Literacy. The educated citizen is economically literate.

Political Citizenship. The educated citizen accepts his civic duties.

Devotion to Democracy. The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals.[25]

A study of the examples of objectives given should enable the educational worker to visualize clearly the over-all task of the school in our democratic society. Particular attention should be given to the purposes of education listed by the three committees of the National Education Association. They agree on two criteria for determining the basic task of the schools of America: first, the implications of our philosophy of a democratic society; second, the activities of those who function effectively in such a democratic society.

It is essential that those associated with the task of the school—

[25] Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy.* Washington: National Education Association, 1938, pp. 50, 72, 90, 108.

educational workers and citizens both—recognize that the broad purposes of education must be determined in accordance with the two basic criteria used by these committees. It is equally important to recognize that the specific techniques used to implement these criteria may vary greatly. Variations of specific approach are even now being used: there is no one perfect way. Further study of still other desirable criteria and further experiments with existing procedures to determine the task of the school in our democratic society more effectively are both the responsibility of, and the challenge to, the beginner in the teaching profession.

Questions and Problems

1. Think about the reconstructive and the adaptive functions of education and then classify English, sciences, social studies, and the other common subjects under the particular function you think that subject promotes. Is the conventional curriculum overweighted toward one of the functions?

2. Since your grandparents received no instruction in horse and buggy driving in their day, can you justify courses in car driving today? Give your reasons.

3. What attitudes, if any, should schools develop? Is sufficient attention given to the teaching of attitudes? Are attitudes directly learned or a learning by-product? What harmful attitudes are students learning today?

4. List other nonschool educational agencies in addition to the seven mentioned in the chapter. Which are desirable and which are not? Why? A class or panel discussion of this issue might prove profitable.

5. What differences are there between educational and propaganda agencies?

6. Many corporations, businesses, organizations, and public bodies have "public relations bureaus." Are they propaganda or educational agencies? Good or bad in influence?

7. What instances can you cite of the influence of pressure and propaganda groups upon freedom of teaching? Upon the content of the school curriculum? Upon school policy? Plan a panel discussion or debate on these questions.

8. List the pressure groups that in some way influenced the public school from which you were graduated. Was their influence largely good or bad as far as the school was concerned?

9. Contrast the conception of education as preparation for life with that of education as the richest and most stimulating environment for pupils of any certain age.

10. Compare the 1893 report of the Committee of Ten with the 1918 report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education with reference to the functions of the school.

11. Which magazines published in this country would be barred in a totalitarian state? What differences, if any, would the nature of that particular state's totalitarianism make?

12. Consider the demands that various pressure groups make upon the school and then write out what you think each group's definition of education would be.

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CHAPTER VIII

What Should Be the Task of the Secondary School in America?

How did primitive society attempt to meet the educational needs of adolescence?

There is a real sense in which the education of the adolescent in primitive society has practical meaning for the secondary schools of America. Although primitive man did not have schools as we think of them, he did have a program of education. This program was carried on principally by the family until adolescence, when intensive preparation for adult group life was, in most instances, undertaken by the clan or tribe itself. Tribal life was rigorous but relatively simple. In the family the child learned the rudimentary social rules and the essential elements of group living. From hearing adults talk about their problems, he absorbed adult ways of thinking about life, the world of nature, and human relations. By this process he came to accept the values of life common to his family and tribe. From the lips of the family elders, the child learned something of the group traditions and its folklore. He attended many of the important gatherings of the tribe and listened to the discussions held at them. Feast days, celebrations of important events, and meetings to discuss tribe policies frequently found children present or at least eavesdropping.

The actual training of children in practical adult activities began early; the boy learned certain essential skills that would be vital to his existence as an efficient member of the adult group later—he was taught how to swim, make fires, fish, hunt, make and use weapons, and similar necessary living skills. The girls were in-

structed in those skills which were the functions of women within the tribe—usually they learned how to cook, weave, and make clothing, and other appropriate skills.

For boys, and sometimes for girls, a more formal type of education came with the onset of adolescence. The transition from childhood to adulthood for primitive youths was abrupt; the primitive boy or girl was a child one day and a responsible adult, married and completely self-supporting, the next day—or at most a few months later. If the tribal state of culture was quite primitive, there was not much to learn beyond the skills already acquired or the folklore or *mores* of the tribe. Where the culture was more advanced, the time required for this phase of the adolescent's education usually was longer.

There were two important aspects of the more formal adolescent education. The first had to do with the inculcation of certain attitudes. The smaller the group and the less complex its life, the more likely it was that a boy would have largely acquired the skills and knowledge he needed before his adolescence; the major task of adolescent education under these circumstances was to inculcate attitudes that guaranteed the unswerving loyalty of the individual tribesman to the group interests—there was no place for one of questionable loyalty or a nonconforming individualist. The safety of the entire tribe might depend upon the complete adherence of every member to the tribal code of behavior. This point is emphasized by Hart:

> The security of a group depends not alone upon what the children learn, but the spirit in which they live what they learn. After all, skills and knowledges are not enough; youth may know and be able to do, and may still play havoc with the ancient folkways. . . . Unless youth accepts the folkways irrevocably and unquestioningly, knowledge and skill may be turned against the safety of the group. Youth may become resentful of control—unless the emotions are fixed in the "right" direction. Children, especially boys, are ever a possible menace to stability, unless they are caught young, and their emotions brought under the domination of group custom. The adult generation must make sure that these emotions are so set—beyond recall—else the group may be destroyed from within.

How can this complete fixation of the emotions of youth within the customs of the group be brought about? The answer is found in the primitive initiation ceremonial. This ceremonial was practiced in some

form practically everywhere in the primitive world. Groups that never learned to deal with youth in this way perished, and are forgotten.[1]

It is clear that primitive man was fully alive to the importance of the emotions in the education of youth for group life. The tribal elders knew that for the youth to be a cooperative and self-sustaining member of the tribe he needed to understand the purposes of the group, the need for group solidarity, the *mores* accepted for the internal regulation of tribal life—in short, that such a youth must be socially and ethically trained as well as trained to make a living.

Whatever, in the judgment of the tribal elders, a youth still lacked in any of these areas, he was expected to obtain in the period of these initiatory rites. Primitive man's education was intensely practical: attention was focused on the recognized needs of the individual and the group; education was tested against its undoubted contribution to survival values, and only things that satisfied definite needs found a place in the ceremonial rites. It is also evident that this education was quite thorough: its physical severity at times affected the health, if not the life, of the initiate. Since life was rigorous, education, it was thought, should consist of some experiences that would involve hardship, physical endurance, and even some element of danger.

These initiatory rites were important civic affairs: they affected the whole community and were participated in by all the adult members of the tribe. The actual details of the principal initiations, which were for the boys of the tribe, were carried out by the men. These induction ceremonies marked the beginning of adult life for adolescents; the completion of these rites symbolized for the primitive group what our school commencements do for our culture—the transition from childhood to adulthood. This occasion, therefore, was of momentous concern to the entire tribal group.

The initiation ceremonies were conducted according to formal and well-established rituals. The men, women, and youths gathered at some central place, usually in the open, where they began their tribal marching, singing, dancing, and feasting—sometimes this lasted for several days. Finally, the boys were taken away by the

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[1] From *A Social Interpretation of Education*, by Joseph K. Hart. New York. Copyright, 1929, by Henry Holt & Company, Inc., pp. 13–14.

older men of the tribe to some secluded spot apart from the women, and their final period of education was begun. The candidate might be left alone in some remote lodge to fast and pray. When this solitude had created the proper emotional readiness in the candidate, he would be brought before the elders to receive the secrets and other instructions that made him eligible for full tribal membership. The nature of these secrets and the atmosphere that ordinarily surrounded their communication to the young neophyte are interestingly described by Hart:

> These revelations were made by the elders of the group who sedately opened to him all the precious lore of the past. This wisdom came to him, under the circumstances, as from the very mouth of the divinity. These secrets were of many sorts: of family relationships and inter-relationships; of industry and the magic modes by which agriculture could best be promoted, or the means by which the fleet deer could be brought to earth; of war, and the means by which the enemy could be conquered; of religion, and those magic processes which even the gods cannot disobey; of social control, and the means by which rebellious individuals can be brought to submission—all these and more. And these revelations might be further "clinched" and made far more emotionally impressive by some form of physical torture applied at just the right psychological moment in the midst of the revelations. Also, as this experience marked the actual passing of the youth over into the ranks of the adult part of the community, there was always some changing of his clothing: he put away childish things and put on the marks of the man![2]

If the level of development of the tribe was low, the education needed and given would be less elaborate. It might be completed by a series of council meetings in which the various elders imparted the revelations of wisdom to the initiate. If the organizational life of the tribe was more highly developed, individual candidates might be assigned to an elder of the tribe for part of the details of the education. This elder, over a period of weeks or months, would impart to the neophyte the secret lore of the tribe and see to it that he acquired the skills considered necessary.

The breadth of the education of primitive groups was in keeping with the realistic way in which they tried to make their youths

[2] Ibid., p. 15. See also Willis L. Uhl, Secondary School Curricula. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 3-37 for a more detailed description of the nature of the initiation ceremonies and the seven areas of primitive education.

into efficient, functioning group members. At least four major areas of life appeared to have been stressed by primitive education: Emphasis was given to (1) morality—the *mores* as these applied to relations to other individuals or groups; (2) civic affairs—the organization of the life of the group and the civic responsibilities of the individual into the pattern of government in vogue; (3) economic and vocational life—the economic responsibility of the individual in the family and tribal life and the achievement of the skills necessary for successfully participating as a self-supporting member; (4) religion—primitive man believed in religion as a vital part of tribal life; (5) aesthetics—man appears, even in his most primitive states, to have regarded beauty as an important part of his life. *With advancement in the scale of development, men devoted more attention to personal ornamentation and the decoration of the environment.* Uhl attempted an interesting parallel between the content of primitive education and that of modern secondary education in America in the 1920's. He classifies the activities of primitive education into seven categories, which roughly parallel the major divisions of the subject curriculum of our contemporary secondary schools, and describes the content of each in some detail as primitive man gave expression to them. They are: (1) Literature; (2) Mathematics; (3) Science; (4) Social Studies; (5) Religion; (6) Fine and Applied Arts; (7) Physical Education.[2]

What are the purposes of secondary education in America?

How is secondary education defined? Secondary education, as the term implies, is a special phase or part of total education. It is essential that it is not thought of as something apart from or different from the total process involved in education. The fundamental processes of learning are the same irrespective of age. Whatever appears to suggest differences is due to modifications in emphasis of the process or to a shift of the direction of purpose.

Possibly nowhere in writings on education has a more lucid functional conception of secondary education been presented than in the definition of the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education of the Department of Secondary School Principals. They defined secondary education thus:

[2] Willis L. Uhl, *Secondary School Curricula*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 5-37.

"Secondary education" denotes the education provided by schools for the purpose of guiding and promoting the development of normal individuals for whom on the one hand the elementary school no longer constitutes a satisfactory environment, and who on the other hand are either not yet prepared to participate effectively in society unguided by the school, or are not ready for the specialized work of the professional schools or the upper division of the liberal arts college.[4]

This definition will need careful study to comprehend its full significance; the implications are both clearly stated and far-reaching. The student of secondary education should be fully aware of at least the most important of these implications. First, the location of the period of secondary education is stated entirely in terms of function. The secondary school has certain tasks to perform in the development of the learner. It does not begin its work until that stage in the educational development of the learner has been reached at which the educational function of the secondary school begins. It continues its educational task until the development of the learner has reached that stage where the secondary school responsibility ends. The criteria for the localization of the specific functions of secondary education are clearly stated. There need be no misunderstanding of these criteria. The definition defines two stages: (1) when the child is so far developed that he can no longer fit properly in the elementary school, he becomes the responsibility of the secondary school; (2) when the secondary-school student has shown himself fit to "participate effectively in society" or ready to move on to higher education, he has passed beyond the further responsibility of the secondary school. Until its students have reached this level, the secondary school has not discharged its obligations to them.

The second important implication of this definition is that no mechanical and rigid line of demarcation separates the elementary from the secondary school. To insist that the child is ready for the secondary school because he has passed a certain score on a standardized achievement test that is average for sixth-grade children is not valid. Neither is the child ready for the secondary school by virtue merely of reaching a given grade in school, whether it is the

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[4] Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education of the Department of Secondary School Principals. *Issues of Secondary Education.* Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principals. Chicago: National Education Association, January, 1936. Bulletin 59, p. 22.

sixth, seventh, or eighth grade. The basis for separation from the elementary school and admission to the secondary school is a functional one: transition from one school to the other must be based primarily upon the stage of development of the child. When does the elementary school become an unsatisfactory environment? When the child's biological, social, and intellectual maturity has reached a stage of development where he no longer shares the interests of the elementary school group with which he has been associated. The intellectual criterion should not, then, be the sole basis of transition from the elementary to the secondary school, but should be supplemented and superseded in importance by the criteria of biological and social maturity.

The third important implication of this definition is that no rigid line of demarcation determines the *end* of secondary education either. *No amassing of a certain number of subject units, no routine completion of a certain number of grades automatically discharges the learner from the further responsibility of the secondary school.* The functional conception of the responsibility of the secondary school is not that easily fulfilled. Two criteria are stated specifically as the upper limits of secondary school responsibility. The learner continues to be the ward of the secondary school until he is able either (1) "to participate effectively in society," or (2) to carry on "the specialized work of the professional schools or the upper division of the liberal arts college." It is quite clear that it is expected that when the youths complete the work of the secondary school, they shall be fully competent to assume the full range of duties that devolve upon the adult. Among the most obvious of these are: the sharing of civic responsibilities and privileges, assumption of the obligations of establishing a home and family, successful participation in vocational life, or, where more rigorous preparation must still be made for professional life or academic specialization, *their successful prosecution.* There is one possible suggestion of what the upper limit grade norm of the high school might be in a practical administration of this secondary school. The reference to the "upper division of the liberal arts college" would imply that the years and task usually thought of as encompassed in the first two years of college are actually a part of the secondary school.

The fourth very important implication of this definition concerns the definite task of the secondary school. Basically the task of the

secondary school is that of "guiding and promoting the development of normal individuals" during the period between the elementary school and adulthood. There are definite implicit and explicit assumptions basic to the implied responsibility of the secondary school.

The admission of the learner to the secondary school is based upon his having outgrown the elementary school. The recognized biological characteristic of the learner in the elementary school is that he is still a child—puberty has not begun. Social maturity tends to parallel very closely the maturation of the sex function. When these two closely intertwined aspects of development begin to assert themselves in the adolescent, he increasingly finds himself out of step with the immaturity of his group. This sense of being out of step increases as his maturity progresses. The learner is now ready for an environment in which his biological and social maturity are fully recognized.

The task of guiding the development of the learner beyond childhood is to provide a proper environment consonant with emerging adolescence. The secondary school must give primary attention to orienting this emerging adolescent, to teaching him the significance of the new world he is entering. His social environment should be suited to his needs. The intellectual atmosphere will continue the development of those social skills to which the elementary school devoted much of its time, but with a new emphasis the successful transition of the learner from the environment of childhood to that of early adolescence.

At the later stage of the secondary school period the emphasis switches again, this time to teaching the adolescent competencies which will enable him to leave the school fully capable of coping with normal adult problems.

What are some significant statements of purpose? Let us examine some statements of educational purpose that have been prepared by responsible groups with the secondary school particularly in mind.

COMMITTEE OF TEN (1893): To contrast the purposes of secondary education as thought of by those who controlled the program of the secondary school before the turn of the century with more recent educational thinking, the statement of purpose of the *Committee of Ten* is given in some detail. As pointed out previously, this committee was one of the most influential groups

in the direction of secondary, and also elementary, education for over a quarter of a century before 1918.

The secondary schools of the United States, taken as a whole, do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges . . . their main function is to prepare for the duties of life that small proportion of all the children in the country—a proportion small in number, but very important to the welfare of the nation—who show themselves able to profit by an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents are able to support them while they remain so long at school. . . . A secondary school programme intended for national use must therefore be made for those children whose education is not to be pursued beyond the secondary school. The preparation of a few pupils for college or scientific school should in the ordinary secondary school be the incidental, and not the principal, object. At the same time, it is obviously desirable that the colleges and scientific schools should be accessible to all boys or girls who have completed creditably the secondary school course. . . . In order that any successful graduate of a good secondary school should be free to present himself at the gates of the college or scientific school of his choice, it is necessary that the colleges and scientific schools of the country should accept for admission to appropriate courses of their instruction the attainments of any youth who has passed creditably through a good secondary school course, no matter to what group of subjects he may have mainly devoted himself in the secondary school. . . . The pupil may now go through a secondary school course of a very feeble and scrappy nature—studying a little of many subjects and not much of any one, getting, perhaps, a little information in a variety of fields, but nothing which can be called a thorough training. Now the recommendations of the Nine Conferences, if well carried out, might fairly be held to make all the main subjects taught in the secondary schools of equal rank for the purposes of admission to college or scientific school. They would all be taught consecutively and thoroughly, and would be carried on in the same spirit; they would all be used for training the powers of observation, memory, expression, and reasoning.[6]

This statement of purposes is general in nature; it does not state specific objectives. Although lip service is given to the noncollege-preparatory purposes of the secondary schools of America, the emphasis throughout is upon the shaping of the work of the sec-

[6] *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies.* With the *Reports of the Conferences Arranged by the Committee.* New York: Published for the National Education Association by the American Book Company, 1894.

ondary school so that high school graduates may enter colleges and scientific schools without penalty. Further, as the general purposes of secondary education are conceived, it is not assumed that any large proportion of our youth will or should receive a secondary education. It still remains for the Committee of Ten, the school of the intellectually-economically élite.

COMMISSION ON THE REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (1918): Attention was called to the fact that the list of objectives drawn up by this Commission was thought to represent the purposes not only of the secondary school but of all education. The Commission did, however, think of some objectives as primarily applicable to secondary and higher education:

1. *Health.*—Health needs cannot be neglected during the period of secondary education without serious danger to the individual and the race. The secondary school should therefore provide health instruction, inculcate health habits, organize an effective program of physical activities, regard health needs in planning work and play, and cooperate with home and community in safeguarding and promoting health interests.

2. *Command of fundamental processes.*—Much of the energy of the elementary school is properly devoted to teaching certain fundamental processes. . . . The facility that a child of 11 or 14 may acquire in the use of these tools is not sufficient for the needs of modern life. This is particularly true of the mother tongue. Proficiency in many of these processes may be increased more effectively by their application to new material than by the formal reviews commonly employed.

3. *Worthy home-membership.*—Home membership as an objective should not be thought of solely with reference to future duties. These are the better guaranteed if the school helps the pupils to take the right attitude toward present home responsibilities and interprets to them the contribution of the home to their development.

In the education of every high-school girl, the household arts should have a prominent place because of their importance to the girl herself and to others whose welfare will be directly in her keeping.

In the education of boys, some opportunity should be found to give them a basis for the intelligent appreciation of the value of the well-appointed home and of the labor and skill required to maintain such a home, to the end that they may cooperate more effectively . . . they should understand the essentials of food values, of sanitation, and of household budgets.

4. *Vocation.*—Vocational education should equip the individual to secure a livelihood for himself and those dependent on him, to serve

society well through *his* vocation, to maintain right relationships toward his fellow workers and society, and, as far as possible, to find in that *vocation his own best development....* An effective program of vocational guidance in the secondary school is essential.

5. Civic education.—Civic education should develop in the individual those qualities whereby he will act well his part as a member of neighborhood, town or city, State and Nation, and give him a basis for understanding international problems.

6. Worthy use of leisure.—Education should equip the individual to secure from his leisure the recreation of body, mind, and spirit, and the enrichment and enlargement of his personality.... The high school has given little conscious attention to this objective.... One of the surest ways in which to prepare pupils worthily to utilize leisure in adult life is by guiding and directing their use of leisure in youth.

7. Ethical character.—In a democratic society ethical character becomes paramount among the objectives of the secondary school. Among the means for developing ethical character may be mentioned the wise selection of content and methods of instruction in all subjects of study, *the social contacts of pupils with one another and with their teachers, the* opportunities afforded by the organization and administration of the school for the development on the part of pupils of the sense of personal responsibility and initiative, and, above all, the spirit of service and the principles of true democracy which should permeate the entire school—principal, teachers, and pupils.[6]

The Commission emphasized the importance of these objectives particularly for the secondary school in these words:

> *This Commission holds that education is essentially a unitary and continuous process, and that each of the objectives defined above must be recognized throughout the entire extent of secondary education.*

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (1942): The Progressive Education Association has had an important influence upon modern educational thinking. One of the many innovations in education that the Progressive Education Association sponsored was the well-known high school curriculum experiment called the "Eight-Year Study." Thirty secondary schools scattered throughout the United States were given *carte blanche* to reorganize their educational program in whatever way they thought would bring these pro-

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[6] *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.* Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Bulletin, 1918, No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. pp. 11–16.

grams into better harmony with their own conceptions of education. Some 300 colleges and universities agreed to accept the graduates of these schools as students without question irrespective of whether the students had had the prerequisite courses usually required for admission. Each school set up its own objectives and determined the curriculum it thought most likely to aid in the realization of these objectives.

As the time approached for an attempt to evaluate the relative effectiveness of these schools as compared with the more traditional types of schools, the Association found it necessary to set up objectives for evaluative purposes. These standards were based upon a careful study of the objectives each school had set up to guide its work. The ten listed below are the ones the Evaluation Staff believed to be essentially representative. This statement of objectives, therefore, may be taken as representative of a very forward-looking group in contemporary secondary education.

1. The development of effective methods of thinking
2. The cultivation of useful work habits and study skills
3. The inculcation of social attitudes
4. The acquisition of a wide range of significant interests
5. The development of increased appreciation of music, art, literature, and other aesthetic experiences
6. The development of social sensitivity
7. The development of better personal-social adjustment
8. The acquisition of important information
9. The development of physical health
10. The development of a consistent philosophy of life [7]

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (1937, 1942): One of the influential organizations devoted to the advancement of education is the American Council on Education. In 1935 the Council set up a special group known as the American Youth Commission to study the problems of youth in America and to suggest a comprehensive educational program adequate to meet the problems of youth and the nation. A large sum of money was provided for the study. It was hoped that the American Youth Commission would thus be enabled to make such a thoroughgoing study that its findings, con-

[7] Wilford M. Aikin, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942, pp. 89-90.

clusions, and recommendations would merit complete confidence on the part of the profession and the general public.

Two statements of objectives have been offered by the American Youth Commission. They are almost identical and should not be considered as an effort to present deliberately two separate and different sets of objectives. The first was offered in 1937 as *The Objectives of a National Program of Education for Youth.*

1. *Citizenship.* Adults—"loyal to their people, cooperative in habits and well informed in economic, political and other problems."
2. *Home and Family.* Adults—"capable of maintaining happy and effective homes for their children."
3. *Vocational Life.* Adults—"capable of carrying on their vocational activities."
4. *Leisure Time.* Adults—"able to spend their leisure time profitably."
5. *Physical Health.* Adults—"sound in bodily health."
6. *Mental Health.* Adults—"mentally sound."
7. *Continued Learning.* Adults—"interested in and capable of continuing to study all aspects of life and culture."[8]

Five years later in the final report of the American Youth Commission a very brief section is devoted to the matter of objectives. Here five objectives of the seven previously listed are repeated, with some indication these were to be considered indispensable although other objectives might be desirable. The final recommendation of objectives by the Commission is given as follows:

The schools must reconsider the fundamentals of education in terms of the objectives that have become appropriate. *These objectives must include the effective preparation of young people for life in all its aspects —for work, for health, for use of leisure time, for home membership, and above all for the obligations of citizenship in a democracy.*

The American Youth Commission recommends that American secondary schools adopt these comprehensive and varied objectives, and make such continuing revisions of their curricula and methods as the attainment of these objectives may require.[9]

[8] Douglass, Harl R., *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1937, pp. 13–24.

[9] *Youth and the Future,* The General Report of the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942, p. 126. Italics used in the quotation are added by the author of this book to set the objectives apart for quick recognition.

The similarity of these objectives and those of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education are quite evident when the two lists are compared. It is doubtful whether the Commission made any substantial contribution in the area of objectives.

THE JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY (1946): This statement of objectives is presented for two reasons: first, this approach is very different from the previous lists given; it presents objectives, not in terms of the purposes of an adult society and its particular ideals and patterns of life, but in terms of youth who would succeed in developing those patterns of behavior essential to success in their immediate environment. The objectives are thought of from the standpoint of the learner and his achievements rather than from the point of view of the society and its purpose. There is a place for both approaches, although the tendency is now to combine them. A comparison of the Educational Policies Commission list of objectives given in the previous chapter will make this point clear.

The second reason for presenting this list of objectives is because it appears in a Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, and John Dewey was in the vanguard of educational thinkers. The educational worker should be aware of the type of educational thinking groups of this kind represent. The objectives are given as important "developmental tasks of adolescence . . . teen-age boys and girls must learn if they are to make reasonably adequate adjustment to their culture"[19]

1. Coming to terms with their own bodies
2. Learning new relationships to their age mates
3. Achieving independence from their parents
4. Achieving adult social and economic status
5. Acquiring self-confidence and a system of values[19]

Another list of objectives that has gained wide acceptance is one formulated in 1947 by the National Association of Secondary Schools Principals. These objectives, ten in number, are stated in terms of the basic needs of youth. The list follows:

1. *Imperative Need Number 1*—All youth need to develop salable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life. To this

[19] John Dewey Society, *The American High School: Its Responsibility and Opportunity.* Eighth Yearbook. H. H. Caswell, *et al.* New York. Harper & Brothers, 1946, p. 98.

end, most youth need supervised work experience as well as education in the skills and knowledge of their occupations.

a. The curriculum provides experiences to help students understand the world at work.

b. Students who must go to work on completion of high school are able to develop salable skills through the study of vocational subjects and through co-operative part-time work programs.

c. School and community service projects enable students to know their community, to learn to work effectively with others, and to gain satisfaction from contributing to the welfare of the group.

d. Part-time, Saturday, and summer jobs, well supervised, give students opportunities to become productive participants in economic life.

e. The school encourages parents to give their boys and girls work experience in the home.

f. An adequate guidance program enables each student to discover his needs, abilities and interests in relation to employment and vocation demands.

g. The work experience program is a recognized and accredited part of the school.

2. *Imperative Need Number 2*—All youth need to develop and maintain good health and physical fitness.

a. Site, plant, equipment, and personnel illustrate concretely to the students that the school and community recognize the importance of health and physical fitness.

b. Students use easily available medical and dental services for examination and treatment.

c. The students make better physical growth and adopt better standards of diet because the cafeteria makes the supplying of proper foods—well prepared—and the inculcation of good habits of diet its major concerns.

d. Students receive instruction designed to establish good health attitudes, habits and understandings.

e. Students participate in physical activities which create interest and develop a satisfying degree of competence in games and sports and other recreational activities.

f. The students learn *through* participation to plan, conduct and evaluate the school's and community's programs for maintaining and *developing* good health and physical fitness.

3. *Imperative Need Number 3*—All youth need to understand the rights and duties of a citizen of a democratic society, and to be

diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation and of the world.

a. All pupils will feel that they "belong" and that they are working partners with the faculty in attaining mutually accepted goals.

b. All pupils have opportunities to achieve "status" with their fellow-students through demonstrated competence and personal worth regardless of socio-economic status, race, or religious belief.

c. In schools where pupils are becoming competent members of a democratic society, pupils use the democratic procedures of elected officers, representative councils and delegated responsibility for carrying on all phases of school life.

d. Through the democratic life of the school and through the curriculum, all students will come to understand the structure of government in a democracy and will accept the philosophy upon which it is based.

e. All youth will achieve from their education some common and binding understandings of the society which they will possess in common.

f. Through study and through participation in programs of community and national scope, pupils will increase their awareness and understanding of current issues.

g. Through programs of guidance, pupils will come to understand themselves and will discover avenues through which each can make his own contribution to community and national life.

h. Adults of the community will find in the school opportunities for self-improvement, integration of community life and assistance in solving common problems.

4. **Imperative Need Number 4**—All youth need to understand the significance of the family for the individual and society and the conditions conducive to successful family life.

a. Pupils participate in a wide variety of coeducational activities to establish relationships which will lead to intelligent selection of mates and to living happily with them.

b. Pupils come to understand the functions of the family, the significance of family solidarity and the mutual responsibilities of husband, wife and other members of the family.

c. Pupils acquire and use skills and understandings related to the budgeting, decorating and furnishings of the home; feeding and clothing of the household; and aesthetic standards of living.

d. Pupils investigate under guidance the personal and social problems which concern them in growing up and in establishing new relationships with members of the opposite sex.

e. Pupils investigate factors in the community which affect family living.

5. *Imperative Need Number 5*—All youth need to know how to purchase and use goods and services intelligently, understanding both the values received by the consumer and the economic consequences of their acts.

a. Students look forward with keen anticipation, backed by a rugged determination, to life on the highest standard they are capable of achieving.

b. *Students handle with ease and competence the problems of shopping and dealing in a large and complex market place.*

c. Students manage their personal financial affairs competently and wisely.

d. Students reveal a wholesome idealism in their personal dealings.

e. Students understand the economic system in which they live and the business system which serves them and are disposed to participate in maintaining and improving both at highest efficiency, using not only their economic power as consumers but also their political power as citizens to this end.

f. Students develop a discriminating sense of values and a self-consistent philosophy of life and apply them as a frame of reference in their everyday affairs.

g. To achieve these ends, the school uses a great diversity of means, pervading the whole curriculum.

6. *Imperative Need Number 6*—All youth need to understand the methods of science, the influence of science on human life, and the main scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and of man.

a. Youth will state problems, form generalizations, make judgments, think critically, prove or disprove beliefs, and change their minds as the evidence dictates.

b. Pupils will develop reasonable explanations for body changes, for natural phenomena and daily happenings and, by removing fear and superstition, will have confidence in themselves and will use their knowledge of scientific practices in their daily living.

c. *Each pupil will come to understand the influence of science on his home and environment and on his own personal growth and development.*

d. Youth will develop special abilities, hobbies and interests, conduct individual research and some will pursue further study to deepen their understanding of science.

e. The school will provide youth with first-hand contacts with the physical resources of the community, with rich laboratory facilities, and with visual, auditory and physical aids to learning about natural phenomena, inventions, processes and raw materials.

f. Youth will understand the relation between scientific changes and the vocations of life, the amount and use of leisure and the changing standards of living and world peace.

7. *Imperative Need Number 7*—All youth need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music and nature.

a. Students become increasingly aware of their own abilities to respond to beauty in literature, art, music and nature, and of their own capacities for creative work in these fields.

b. Students develop their capacities for growth in these fields.

c. Students find in all subjects of the curriculum appropriate experiences designed to promote appreciation of beauty in literature, art, music and nature.

d. Students' growth in appreciation of beauty is promoted by plant and equipment adequate for the purpose.

e. Students are aided in the development of their appreciation of beauty by the organization of the program.

f. The school evaluates the growth of the capacity of the students to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music and nature.

8. *Imperative Need Number 8*—All youth need to be able to use their leisure time well and to budget it wisely, balancing activities that yield satisfactions to the individual with those that are socially useful.

a. Students explore a wide range of leisure-time pursuits and their own potential interest in and aptitude for those pursuits.

b. Students learn the importance of the optimum use of leisure time.

c. Students develop skills and other forms of ability in leisure-time occupations to a degree which promotes enjoyment and profit.

d. Students develop a respect for the ideal of safety and learn methods of promoting safety in leisure-time pursuits—in the home, on the street, on the highway, on court and field, and in forest and open country.

    e. *The school offers the student instruction and practice in the active duties of citizenship which are normally discharged in leisure time.*

    f. *The plant and equipment of the school promote effective instruction in the use of leisure time.*

    g. *The program of the school is organized in such a way as to give training for the use of leisure. In planning its program, it provides as carefully for this side of its work as it does for any other. The daily schedule gives time for the leisure program. In the selection of teachers the competence of the applicants in leisure pursuits is taken in consideration. Teacher time is made available for the purpose in whatever part of the day or week or year it is needed.*

9. *Imperative Need Number 9*—All youth need to develop respect for other persons, to grow in their insight into ethical values and principles, and to be able to live and work co-operatively with others.

    a. *Pupils learn to evaluate all points of view from the standpoint of the common good.*

    b. Students co-operatively plan and work together to achieve group decisions.

    c. Pupils achieve individual status that will command others' respect.

    d. Pupils gradually achieve self-direction with social responsibility.

    e. Pupils become disposed and able to make their personal contributions to group living.

    f. Pupils should come out of school with a value system to which they refer for decision.

10. *Imperative Need Number 10*—All youth need to grow in their ability to think rationally, to express their thoughts clearly and to read and listen with understanding.

    a. Youth develop methods of solving problems, using discussion and different points of view to develop rational thinking.

    b. Students discuss clearly and effectively issues and problems, choosing appropriate means of expression and expressing correctly and convincingly their thoughts.

    c. Youth use many means for collecting, organizing, and presenting ideas and secure content for thought and expression from all areas of human experience.

    d. Youth turn to reading as a source of information, leisure and personal development.

    e. Youth develop taste and discrimination in communicating with others.

with a basic orientation for the intelligent use of an over-all statement of objectives such as those formulated by the Educational Policies Commission. No statement of objectives yet devised should be considered completely satisfactory. Both individually and in groups, educational workers should formulate their own working statements of objectives, or make modifications of existing lists.

How should the task of the secondary school be related to that of the elementary school?

The general clue to the functional relations of the two schools is suggested in our discussion of the definition of secondary education. The relationship of the secondary school to the elementary school can be understood best if the tasks of both schools are seen as related phases of the total task of formal education. The secondary school cannot understand its task adequately unless it sees in perspective the major outlines of the elementary school. The reverse, of course, is equally true.

What is the task of the elementary school? Before this question can be answered it is necessary to know what the school has to begin its work with. What does the child bring to the school in experiences and social skills?

What does the child bring to the school? The child enters upon his school career directly from the home, where he has acquired some of the rudimentary social skills. They may be very primitive indeed; the child may be almost unsocial or nonsocial. Where there have been other children in the family, the child's socialization may have gone far to equip him with the social skills necessary to enable him to make group adjustments without too much difficulty. If he is the only child of indulgent parents, his contacts with other children may have been very much restricted and he may not have learned the need to curb his desires and adjust his wishes to those of others in the interest of group harmony. Such a child may, under these circumstances, bring to the school pronounced unsocial behavior patterns and undesirable attitudes. There will be a wide range of individual differences in the amount of social skills the children possess when they enter the elementary school. The children who come from the larger proportion of American homes will, in all probability, have achieved a level of social behavior that enables them to get along reasonably well together.

A second characteristic of the child newly admitted to the school is the strong probability that he will bring with him a well-developed facility in the use of the spoken language, although children of illiterate parents may be deficient in this respect. Some children will even come to school with some ability to read or write, and most will possess some practical verbal number concepts.

What is the task of the elementary school? The task of the elementary school must be thought of in the school's environmental setting. The elementary school is the first phase of the child's formal education. The school receives a child who has been educationally influenced almost exclusively by other agencies. The home has been the chief source of this influence. The school will have the major responsibility for the next six or seven years for the formal education of the child. Normally, this will take the child through the period of childhood to the beginning of puberty, at which time it is expected that the child will be transferred to an adolescent environment. The environmental period covered by the elementary school, then, is childhood.

There are three primary tasks of this school of childhood: *first,* to insure the transformation of the unsocial or slightly socialized child into a reasonably competent social being. By the time the elementary school period is over, the child should have learned how to get along with others, work efficiently and cooperatively with the teacher and his fellow students, and, in general, evidence the elements of self-control.

The *second* major task of the elementary school is to increase the effectiveness of the child in the use of the basic personal-social skills —commonly spoken of as the tools of learning. The child should develop certain communication skills in reading, writing, listening and speaking. He should learn to work with numbers. He should learn the important health habits. Mastery of all these personal-social skills will be important to the child not only while he is a child but also later on, in his adult life.

A *third* task of the elementary school is to help the child gain as rich an understanding of his world as possible. In a rapidly shrinking world the child can no longer be confined to his home environment. It is important to help him use the radio, television, movies, newspapers, and other modern means of extending his world to enrich his understanding. The task of the school in the develop-

ment of these major areas of the elementary school's responsibility has been well stated by Hockett and Jacobsen:

> If we want socially sensitive and socially disposed individuals, school experiences must be permeated with the spirit of cooperative endeavor, in which pupils share responsibilities and successes. If we wish poised and integrated personalities, the school program must facilitate emotional stability, social adjustment and creative achievement in an atmosphere of security and of sympathetic understanding. If we aim to develop confident, self-reliant individuals, we must build confidence through a program of success, in which the child continually grows in ability to assume responsibility for his own decisions and behavior. If we value integrity of character, the school must encourage both emotional and intellectual sincerity on the part of each child, even though he may react differently from the other children or the teacher. If purposiveness, perseverance, and enthusiasm are desirable qualities, children must be permitted and helped to set up worthy purposes which they can carry through enthusiastically, to successful conclusions. If open-minded respect for fact and truth is a desirable characteristic, many opportunities for practicing the scientific attitude must be provided in children's school experience. If appreciation and enjoyment of the beautiful are worth-while, the school must provide time and opportunity for these experiences. If happiness and good fellowship are constituents of the good life, the school must show the children how they can be attained.[12]

The responsibility of the elementary school for this phase of the school's educational task has been uniquely stated in terms of certain "developmental tasks" the elementary school should help the child achieve. Some of the most important of these tasks as stated are:

1. To care for his person in the sense that he can dress himself and keep himself reasonably clean.
2. To use his body as an instrument of his will; that is, to coordinate his movements so that his behavior becomes more effective.
3. To assume a sex role appropriate to little boys or girls.
4. To get along reasonably well with his age-mates.
5. To use the fundamental intellectual skills that are necessary for everyday life, such as reading, writing, and computing.
6. To develop a sharper sense of right and wrong and the ability to behave consistently with some acceptable scale of values.

[12] John A. Hockett and E. W. Jacobsen, *Modern Practices in the Elementary School*. New York: Ginn & Company, 1938, pp. 6–7.

7. To behave consistently with certain conventional attitudes toward social groups and institutions such as race, religion, school, and the family.

8. To inhibit, to some degree at least, his emotional impulses.[11]

A *fourth* major task of the elementary school is to point the child toward the second phase of his formal education—the school of adolescence. This task, which should be thought of as slightly apart from the three primary tasks of the school, becomes prominent as the child approaches the later part of his stay in the elementary school. He should be oriented toward the life and activities of the second phase of his formal education; and he should look forward to the opportunities afforded in the new school to continue some of his cherished activities. It should be made clear to the child that in the secondary school he can complete some desirable project or attain some goal beyond the scope of the elementary school environment.

How should the secondary school relate its task to the elementary school?

Secondary school teachers should see that part of their educational task is to continue the development of those behavior patterns involved in the three primary tasks of the elementary school. If modern educational theory is correct in assuming that education at the various school levels is one of degree rather than of kind, the secondary school must know what the stage of development of the child is as he crosses the threshold into the school of adolescence. The secondary school has an obligation to pick up where the elementary school leaves off. The child should not be expected to have achieved mastery of the personal-social skills beyond what he would need in elementary school and at home. The criticism frequently made by secondary school teachers that the elementary school child is so poorly prepared to do the work of the secondary school, is largely caused by the failure of the secondary school teacher to understand the *relationship of the two schools to each other.*

Ideally, the pupil from the elementary school would not enter the secondary school until his biological, social, and intellectual maturity

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[11] John Dewey Society, *The American High School: Its Responsibility and Opportunity.* Eighth Yearbook. H. L. Caswell, *et al.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. 72-73.

made his continuance in elementary school undesirable. At this point the secondary school faces a difficult problem as it tries realistically to relate its program to that of the elementary school. Biological maturity is very uneven; there is no uniform emergence of the child into the pubertal stage, which is the key phase of development that sets off the school of adolescence from the school of childhood. Practical problems of the school have made strict conformity with the ideal exceedingly difficult. It is imperative that the secondary school and the elementary school interrelate their programs so that these problems are minimized and the smoothest possible transition of the child from one school to the other is made possible.

How should the task of the secondary school be related to adulthood?

It cannot be emphasized too often that the task of the secondary school is not primarily to prepare students for adulthood. The entire educational process is designed, of course, to make people competent to live effectively for the whole span of life, of which the formal period of general education occupies possibly little more than one-fourth.

Education deals primarily with the immediate and compelling problems that face pupils in here and now. To teach pupils how to discover and understand the nature of the problems that press upon them, and then to help them find ways to solve those problems, is to give them best preparation for their present living and for adult life. The differences between the adolescent and the adult lie in the degree of maturity each has achieved. It is important, therefore, to keep in mind that adulthood is being achieved during adolescence. It is well to remember further that the long period of adolescence that exists in our culture is not basically correct. Large numbers of youths reach full adolescent maturity in terms of their biological development some time before completing the formal school of adolescence. Since these youths have achieved adulthood as far as their biological maturation is concerned, for them the problems of later adolescence tend to merge with those of adulthood. If the adolescent, under the wise guidance of the school, has developed behavior patterns that enable him to cope successfully with the pressing problems of his life, he has received the best possible preparation for the long years of adulthood ahead.

The problem of preparing the adolescent for advanced technical, professional, or other specialized schooling, unfortunately, has absorbed too much of our attention in the past. The secondary school has bent its energies mostly in the direction of college preparation. Happily, many colleges have recently decreased their entrance requirements, and there is every indication in present trends that these requirements will undergo still further liberalization.

Recent developments in the psychology of learning have placed in question the old emphasis upon the study of certain subjects as the key to success in college. The doubts thus cast on the possible validity of the old college entrance requirements have been supported by studies of the success of college students without the time-honored prerequisites. The most notable of these studies is the "Eight-Year Study," referred to earlier. This study of the college success of graduates of high schools where college entrance requirements were ignored in the curriculums was revelatory. Graduates from these high schools did better in college than did high school graduates from the traditionally run high schools. When a further comparison was made between the six experimental schools that deviated most from the traditional pattern and the traditional control groups, the advantage was on the side of the former.

There were 361 students from the least conventional six schools, and 417 from the most conventional schools. It turns out that the students from the least conventional schools excelled their controls by a score that may roughly be expressed 27 to 7, while the students from the most conventional schools of the Thirty were excelled by their control group by a score that may roughly be expressed as 14 to 16 . . . , the students from the schools whose pattern of program differed most from the conventional were very distinctly superior to those from the more conventional type of school. . . . It looks as if the stimulus and the initiative which the less conventional approach to secondary school education affords sends on to college better human material than we have obtained in the past.[14]

Henceforth, the secondary school need give little thought to college preparation. The behavioral competencies that give the adolescent mastery over his contemporary problems are, at the same time, the best assurance of his success in further intellectual pursuits. Careful guidance of young people aimed at helping them solve their vital concerns as they grow toward adulthood, is the best possible secondary education.

What are some of the issues confronting secondary education?

The educational worker very soon becomes aware that there is not complete unanimity on some aspects of secondary education in America. Just who is to be eligible for secondary education and how much or what kind of an education should be provided are two questions that are still subject to debate by the professional worker and layman.

The National Association of Secondary School Principals, after several years of study, published a list of "ten issues" of vital concern to secondary education. Each of the issues is discussed at some length as a part of the report of the committee. The ten issues as stated are:

1. Shall secondary education be provided at public expense for all normal individuals or for only a limited number?

2. Shall secondary education seek to retain all pupils in school as long as they wish to remain, or shall it transfer them to other agencies under educational supervision when, in the judgment of the school authorities, these agencies promise to serve better the pupils' immediate and probable future needs?

3. Shall secondary education be concerned only with the welfare and progress of the individual, or with these only as they promise to contribute to the welfare and progress of society?

4. Shall secondary education provide a common curriculum for all, or differentiated offerings?

5. Shall secondary education include vocational training, or shall it be restricted to general education?

6. Shall secondary education be primarily directed toward preparation for advanced studies, or shall it be primarily concerned with the value of its own courses, regardless of a student's future academic career?

7. Shall secondary education accept the conventional school subjects as fundamental categories under which school experiences shall be classified and presented to students, or shall it arrange and present experiences in fundamental categories directly related to the performance of such functions of secondary schools in a democracy as increasing the ability and the desire better to meet socio-civic, economic, health, leisure-time, vocational, and pre-professional problems and situations?

8. Shall secondary education present merely organized knowledge, or shall it also assume responsibility for attitudes and ideals?

9. Shall secondary education seek merely the adjustment of students to prevailing social ideals, or shall it seek the reconstruction of society?

10. Granting that education is a "gradual, continuous, unitary process," shall secondary education be presented merely as a phase of such a process, or shall it be organized as a distinct but closely articulating part, with peculiarly emphasized functions of its own? [15]

These issues are still subject to debate. Some are of less importance today than when they were formulated by the Committee; some would receive a different emphasis at this time. They do, however, provide a basis for careful study of the unsettled questions in secondary education. A few of the most important problems that will require some positive answers in the next few years if the secondary school is to meet its responsibilities adequately are discussed briefly below. The educational worker will do well to read the supplemental references suggested for more detail on some of these issues.

Shall education be provided at public expense for all youth? This was the first of the issues cited by the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education of the Department of Secondary School Principals. It is still an unsettled question in many respects; although many have come to take for granted the right of every youth to a secondary education at public expense, there are still a few who do

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[15] Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, *Issues of Secondary Education.* Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principals, Bulletin 59, pp. 5-7. Washington: National Education Association, January, 1936. For further discussion of "issues" see Thomas H. Briggs, *Secondary Education,* Chaps. X-XIII. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933; John Dewey Society, *The American High School,* Chap. I. Eighth Yearbook. H. L. Caswell, *et al.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946.

not believe that all youth are educable beyond the simplest rudiments of socialization and the personal-social skills.

During the depression period of the 1930's, one state chamber of commerce took a definite stand in opposition to free secondary education for all. Its members were not sure, they said, that all youth could profit from the education beyond the elementary school; they also stated that secondary education should be limited to the children of families who could pay the cost of such education. Among the opponents of secondary education are some who earnestly believe no nation can afford universal secondary education. Others are not committed to the democratic ideal; they see educational opportunity in terms of economic privilege. Many who are in favor of secondary education for all as far as the twelfth grade are not sure that education for the next two years should be made available for all.

A serious aspect of this question gained some momentum during the plush years after World War II. The gain in private secondary school enrollments during that period posed several questions. If it is agreed that secondary education should be provided at public expense for all, then one question is "Can America justify the provision of educational opportunity for all and then allow private groups to provide parallel educational programs without endangering the framework of democracy by which the provision of education for all is justified?" The justification for universal secondary education, it is agreed, arises from the fact that, in a democracy, the school is the agency through which the people are unified by the acceptance of common ideals and purposes. Further, the financial drain upon the citizen to maintain two school systems lead to poorer educational facilities for both groups and a general weakening of the public school's acceptance as the bulwark of democracy.

Shall educational opportunity be equalized for all? No one can question that serious inequalities in educational opportunities do exist; inequality exists between communities and between states. Our best educational leaders have been wrestling with the problem for years. It has been exceedingly difficult to organize and finance educational opportunities so that all communities in a state might offer equal educational privileges to children. Prejudices and rivalries between communities, to say nothing of the financial advantages one community has over another, have prevented equalizing

the amount and quality of education available. Some states, because of greater wealth, can and do offer their children much better educational facilities, better teachers, and a better curriculum. Pride and the bugaboo of "States' Rights" have paralyzed efforts thus far to arrange for extensive federal aid. For years there have been unsuccessful attempts made at each session of Congress to get a general federal-aid-for-education bill through the Congress. This pressing issue, and it is perhaps more pressing now than ever before, still confronts the Congress and the general public.

What shall be the organizational pattern of secondary education? There are many patterns of organization for the secondary school in America; claims and counterclaims for the advantages of various organizational patterns are presented. Should we have (a) four years of secondary education based upon an eight-year elementary school, (b) six years of secondary education based upon six years of elementary education, (c) the six years of secondary education divided into two schools of three years each, (d) two three-year secondary school divisions and another two years, carrying the secondary education program through the thirteenth and fourteenth grades, or (e) an eight-year secondary school divided into two equal periods of four years? These questions are far from being settled. The slight trend now in evidence in theory and practice seems to point to a possible four-four plan for secondary education beginning with the seventh grade and ending with the fourteenth grade. The educational values in several of these schemes of organization need to be carefully studied; no doubt there is more merit in some than in others, and if there are distinct advantages in one over the others, this should be known.

What shall be the form of organization of the secondary school curriculum? At the present time this is a much debated issue. The two major controversy centers about whether to continue with the traditional subject basis of curriculum organization or switch to organizing the curriculum on the basis of grouping of experiences under broad categories of human activities, such as family relations, vocational activities, and leisure-time activities. The trend is definitely in the latter direction. Much work and experimentation need to be done to develop the most desirable scheme of curriculum organization.

What shall be the relative emphasis given to general versus voca-

tional education in the program of secondary education? This issue has undergone a change of emphasis in the past decade and a half; for that reason it has seemed desirable to change the statement from "either, or" to "how much." There does not appear to be a serious disagreement at present over whether the secondary school program should be all general education or whether some vocational education might be reluctantly admitted. A program of education that is realistic about the problems of youth must recognize the importance of vocational education. At present there appears to be a possible danger of overemphasizing the vocational needs at the expense of the other competencies so necessary in a world so complex in its demands upon the abilities of men and women. The problem should receive most careful study.

Shall secondary education seek to adjust youth to prevailing social ideals or shall it seek the reconstruction of society? Possibly no other issue of the ten presented by the Department of Secondary School Principals has aroused more heated discussion. It is more pertinent as an issue today than ever; certainly there is none of greater significance for secondary education and for society. The answer that is finally given by the teaching profession and the public may determine the character of secondary education in America.

Should the secondary school become the educational center for community and adult activities? The rapid changes that are taking place in our social and technological world, the corresponding advancement in knowledge, and demands upon adults for new personal-social and vocational skills have created a demand for educational help of every conceivable kind. These demands for educational assistance by the adults of the community require both trained personnel and physical facilities. The modern commodious secondary schools are ordinarily the most centrally located and available facilities, have the core of a trained educational staff, and possess the physical equipment needed for many phases of vocational in-

the task of the secondary school will be materially enlarged and possibly somewhat modified.[16]

Questions and Problems

1. Is an urban or a rural youth more likely to learn the occupation of his father today? For which would it be more necessary to provide work experience? Why?

2. What happens to so-called "standards" when the secondary school is considered the proper environment for all pupils who have grown out of the world of childhood?

3. What problems arise in the secondary school when elementary pupils are promoted from one rigid grade to another with no reference to social, emotional, or physiological maturity?

4. What would you do with a sixth-grade boy who always played with the eighth-grade boys and never with the boys in his own grade?

5. Discuss the conception that secondary teachers have of the task of the secondary school when they complain that elementary pupils when promoted cannot do the work required of secondary pupils.

6. How would you justify the promotion of elementary pupils by grades and of high school pupils by subjects?

7. List those experiences of modern youth in their progress through the secondary school that might be compared to the initiatory rites of primitive man.

8. Discuss the changes you think should be made in the secondary school program if a youth is to remain in the secondary school until he is ready for adult life or for college.

9. Where should all modern youths receive the instruction necessary to prepare them for the responsibilities of establishing a home and family? In grades 11–12? In grades 13–14? In college?

10. Make your own outline of a secondary curriculum designed to meet the needs of youths between the period of childhood and adulthood. How much Latin, Typewriting, English, and Home Economics would you require? What new courses would you add?

11. Are certain subjects valuable only because students are going to college or because of the intrinsic value of the subjects themselves? State your reasons.

12. Read the fifth volume of the *Eight-Year Study*, "Did They Succeed in College?" and try to decide whether a subject organization of the curriculum can any longer be justified. Would you have preferred to attend the more conventional or more experimental type of high school? Give reasons for your choice.

[16] For a more detailed discussion of this problem see Chapter XVI, which is devoted to a consideration of the school-community relationship.

13. What do you think of the idea that youths are best prepared for
    adult life when their secondary curriculum is based upon problems
    of immediate concern and interest at that particular age?

14. Bertrand Russell thinks it "scandalous" that Euclidean geometry is
    still taught to schoolboys in England. What is your opinion? Would
    you substitute the geometry of Einstein, for instance?

15. How much education should be provided for all American youths
    at public expense? By what criteria would you determine a limit?

16. Find evidence to substantiate the existence of inequality of educa-
    tional opportunity among the various states and even within certain
    states.

17. Add as many issues as you can to the list of those included in the
    chapter.

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PART IV

Implementing the Program

CHAPTER IX

What Is the Status of the Present Secondary School—Its Characteristics, Population, Finance, and Personnel?

What are some of the schools' chief characteristics?

What are common forms of secondary school organization? The secondary school in the United States, like Topsy, has just growed. In that growth it has taken on many organizational forms. If the neophyte in education becomes a little confused at the way number combinations are tossed about in educational discussions of the organizational patterns of secondary schools, he should not be too disturbed. After a while such expressions as 7-4, 8-4, 6-2-4, 6-6, 6-3-3, 6-3-3-2, or 6-4-4 will automatically bring a mental picture of the divisions of our secondary school as they are related to the elementary school.

These numbers refer to years—where 4 appears, it refers to a high school course of four years. The four-year course has been our traditional high school organizational pattern; this type is frequently designated as the "regular" or "unreorganized" secondary school. The classification "reorganized" refers either to the six-year individual junior-senior high school or to the 3-3, the junior high school in one building for grades seven to nine and the senior high school in another building for grades ten to twelve.

When the number 2 is added to the above classifications of the secondary school, the first two years traditionally associated with the college or university are considered as part of secondary education. These two years, when set apart or associated with the regular public secondary school, are known as "junior college." Re-

cently, in many communities the secondary school has been divided into two separate school units of four years each; this plan, known as the 4-4 plan, is so relatively recent that the final designation of the two divisions is not settled. Some would like the terms "junior and senior high schools" for the two schools; others would prefer to use "high school" for the first division and "peoples' college" or some such title for the second division to give it more adult prestige. At present, the usual designation of these two divisions is the "high school" and the "junior college."

Walter H. Gaumnitz of the United States Office of Education has pointed out the relative popularity of the major types of public secondary schools in a recent government bulletin:

For the United States as a whole, recent years show a marked trend away from the traditional 8-4 plan of organization, commonly referred to as the "regular" or "4-year" high school, toward an organization which includes some form of junior high school.

For the first time in history this periodical statistical survey shows that for 1952 the total number of traditionally organized 4-year high schools has dropped below half of the total number of public secondary schools in the United States. . . .

While all types of reorganized high schools are increasing in number, these statistics show that in relation to the total number of public high schools the junior-senior high schools are now growing most rapidly, followed by the junior high schools and the senior high schools. Based on the number of pupils attending high school, the greatest growth is now taking place in the junior-senior high school, with the senior high schools and the junior high schools following in that order.[1]

Though the junior college is not included in the data of Table 4, it is considered a part of the American secondary school system. It has been customary in government statistical reports to present the statistics of the junior colleges in the section under "Higher Education." This has been done, no doubt, as a part of the traditional assumption that anything beyond the twelfth grade belongs to the college as part of its freshman or sophomore years. Within the past half century, however, the educational leaders of America have come to think of the first two years of the liberal arts college as

[1] "Statistics of Public Secondary Day Schools, 1951–52," Chapter 5, pp. 22–23, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1950–52. Washington: Office of Education, 1954.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF VARIOUS TYPES
IN THE UNITED STATES 1951–52 [2]

Type of School	Number of Schools	Per Cent of Schools	Number of Pupils Enrolled	Per Cent of Pupils Enrolled
Public regular high schools......	10,168	42.8	1,937,210	25.2
Public reorganized secondary schools				
Undivided junior-senior.......	8,591	36.2	2,696,707	35.1
Junior high school............	3,227	13.6	1,526,996	19.8
Senior high school............	1,760	7.4	1,528,006	19.9
Total public schools*.......	23,746	100.0	7,688,919	100.0

* Not included are 11 ungraded schools with an enrollment of 4,221 pupils.

more properly the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the secondary school. Since William Rainey Harper, first president of the University of Chicago, brought the question to the forefront of educational thinking, most outstanding educational pronouncements have decreed these two years as a logical part of secondary education. A mass of legislation governing the formulation of junior colleges has identified these institutions as part of America's secondary school system.

The two-year course has been the dominant form of organization in junior colleges in the United States. As the two years beyond the traditional high school became recognized as part of secondary education, the simplest device was to add them to the existing secondary school pattern as another unit. Educational leaders who feel that these years should be woven into the existing school have been responsible for the fact that the four-year junior college is now the second most numerous type.

TABLE 6

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS BY SIZE AND TYPE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1952 [4]

Size of School	Number of Regular High Schools	Per Cent of Total	Number of Reorganized High Schools	Per Cent of Total	Number of all High Schools Combined	Per Cent of Total
1–9	179	1.8	5	–.05	184	.6
10–24	591	5.8	49	.4	640	2.7
24–49	1,591	15.6	305	.4	1,896	8.0
50–74	1,697	16.7	614	4.5	2,311	9.7
75–99	1,279	12.6	807	5.9	2,086	8.8
100–199	2,500	24.6	3,525	26.0	6,025	25.4
200–299	895	8.8	2,208	16.3	3,103	13.0
300–499	672	6.6	2,434	17.9	3,106	13.1
500–999	430	4.2	2,327	17.1	2,757	11.6
1,000–2,499	307	3.0	1,229	9.1	1,536	6.5
2,500 or more	27	.3	75	.6	102	.4
Total......	10,168	100.0	13,578	100.0	23,746	100.0

The secondary schools of this country have been predominantly small schools. Over half of the traditionally organized high schools in the United States have an enrollment of fewer than 50 students. The contrast is very marked when this enrollment figure is compared with that for the reorganized schools; in 1952 the median school enrollment for the public junior high school was 361, for the public senior high school 634, and for the combined junior-senior

Figure VI. Chart showing the several main patterns of elementary and secondary schools in the United States

high school 215, whereas the median enrollment for all public day secondary schools was 175. Over two-thirds of these schools had fewer than 300 pupils, and in one state the median school enrollment was below 50 pupils.

Many criticisms of the school may find their cause in problems created by our extraordinarily large number of small secondary schools. It is not possible to offer the same opportunities in the 2,700 high schools with fewer than 50 pupils each as in the 4,400 schools with 500 or more pupils.

What are present trends in organization? The form of the secondary school is undergoing rapid change. At the turn of the century only a few variations of the four-year high school could be found. Then, very slowly, changes began to increase in frequency. After World War I school reorganization, as well as other phases of secondary education, began to gather momentum. Steadily the old four-year high school gave way to new forms of the reorganized secondary school. Each of the main types of reorganized schools has shown steady growth at the expense of the more traditional school. It may not be too much to predict that within the next quarter of a century the traditional four-year high school as many of us have known it will be gone.

Leonard V. Koos, in a comment on the momentum of the reorganization movement in secondary education, observes that:

The years of reorganization for fifteen, or almost a fourth of the systems for which answers on the point were reported, were from 1936 to 1940. This proportion is proof that the junior high school reorganization was still going on at a steady rate up to the clamping down of priorities on materials needed for building construction shortly before the opening of hostilities. . . . The general inference from returns of this inquiry is that the junior high school reorganization is still a dynamic movement and must and will be taken into account in any planning of future developments in the nation's schools.[5]

The size of the secondary school unit is steadily becoming larger, and there are many reasons why this trend should continue. More than two-thirds of the high schools are in rural communities and yet these schools enroll less than one-fourth of the pupils who attend high school. Typical of the disparity in the sizes of the rural and

portation systems with fleets of buses radiating out into the rural communities from a common school center are a familiar and popular mode of giving small communities the opportunities of the large schools which used to be the privilege of the urban dweller. In sparsely settled regions buses serve pupils within a radius of up to thirty miles of the school, and in some instances dormitory facilities have been built for those who live beyond bus range. The growing acceptance of the junior college idea should greatly encourage the consolidation of small secondary school districts into much larger ones.

Year	Junior	Junior-Senior	Senior	Regular
1922	8.6	11.6	2.6	77.2
1926	16.8	16.6	7.8	58.8
1930	19.0	17.9	9.9	53.2
1934	18.6	18.9	11.3	51.2
1938	19.0	24.4	13.1	43.5
1946	18.5	25.8	16.9	38.8
1952	19.8	35.1	19.9	25.2
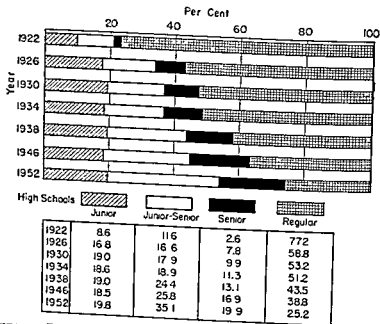
FIGURE VII. PERCENTAGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN VARIOUS TYPES OF SCHOOLS 1922 TO 1952 INCLUSIVE

How is organization related to the public school system? To understand the secondary school it is necessary to see it as it is related to the over-all pattern of education in America. Roughly there are three major divisions in our educational system: elementary, secondary, and higher education.

Elementary education traditionally has consisted of units from

grade one through grade seven or eight depending upon the section of the country. In the East and the South there has been a tendency to adopt the seven-year elementary school. In the northern portion of the Atlantic seaboard and in the Middle West and Far West the eight-year elementary school has generally been adopted. A few Eastern communities have organized a nine-year elementary school. The dominant type of elementary school found in America, however, is the eight-year school.

Two significant changes have been taking place in the elementary school: with the turn of the present century the tendency to think of the sixth grade as the logical end of elementary education has rapidly gained ground, so that it promises to be the future upper limit of elementary education; the extension of elementary education downward below the first grade to include a three- or four-year period embracing two divisions, the kindergarten of one or two years and the nursery school of approximately two years, has developed. Sometimes these lower grades have been organized apart from the elementary school, but educational leaders consider them an integral part of the elementary school system.

The secondary school period theoretically extends from the seventh grade through the fourteenth grade, or two years beyond the ordinary high school. In practice it varies from community to community. The secondary school may begin at the seventh, eighth, or ninth grade and extend to the twelfth or fourteenth grade. As we have seen, the trend is definitely toward the adjustment of practice to accepted theory.

The pattern of the third division is somewhat irregular. As the secondary school tends more and more to include the thirteenth and fourteenth grades, or the traditional freshman and sophomore years of the college and university, a radical adjustment in the college is inevitable. The controversy stirred up by the University of Chicago is possibly indicative of the problems that confront the organization of the colleges. The A.B. (baccalaureate) degree has been the time-honored degree of the four-year college. This degree has been regarded as the symbol of the completion of general education above the twelfth grade of high school. With the movement to consider the thirteenth and fourteenth (freshman and sophomore) years as the culmination of general education, the University of Chicago proposed that the traditional baccalaureate degree be given at the

end of the sophomore year. Higher education beyond the baccalaureate degree, the University of Chicago contended, should be considered specialization.

Apart from and yet closely related to the internal problems of the traditional type of college and university organization is the development of an extensive program of adult education above the secondary school. After World War I adult education mushroomed in growth, and since World War II it has become a major concern of higher education. Though not well defined as yet, adult education is characterized by the breadth of its scope. It usually emphasizes *broad general education of a practical nature and along social, political, or economic lines; but it considers also both vocational needs and cultural pursuits*, the latter to help the adult enjoy his leisure time.

The student is familiar with the much proclaimed American "educational ladder" by which the ambitious, discerning youth could make his way from the elementary school through the high school into the university. This climb is more common today than it was a generation ago. Although theoretically the high school graduate of fifty years ago could go on to college, there was little reason for him to do so unless he expected to enter one of the professions. The doors of higher education are opening wider to the graduate of the secondary school, partly because higher education is making a wider range of useful advanced education available.

What is the ratio of public and private secondary schools? The discussion thus far has focused attention upon the public secondary school, which is the principal form of secondary education in America and therefore most likely to represent the problems that the new teacher will be called upon to understand. However, most of the over-all problems that concern the public school today are faced also by the private schools.

Although the secondary school of America came from a tradition of private concern for secondary education, for over a century now the ideal of American secondary education has been a free, publicly supported secondary school for all American youth. For many reasons private secondary schools have persisted. The dominant group supporting them is religious; supporters of religious schools have felt that the *historic separation of church and state* that came with the adoption of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the
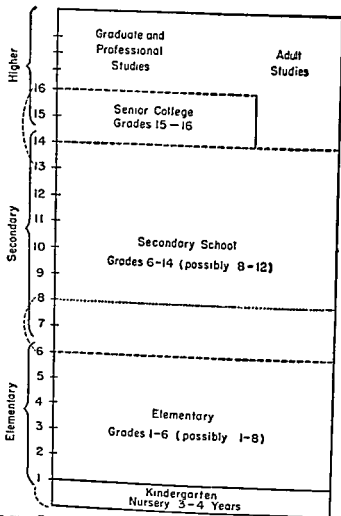
FIGURE VIII. CHART OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE THREE MAJOR DIVISIONS
OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

United States prevented the public schools from giving the proper
attention to matters of religious instruction. So keenly have some
religious groups felt about this that they have been willing to set up
schools at their own expense to provide this additional instruction.
Another group of superior economic status wanted their children

to have a better education than was available in the typical public secondary school. A third group, more numerous forty years ago than today, was critical of the practicality of the secondary education offered in the public schools. Its members' primary interest in founding private schools was a practical "bread and butter" education for their children.

In 1950 there were approximately 3,331 private and 24,000 public secondary schools in the United States. The private secondary schools in 1954 enrolled upwards of 818,000 pupils, whereas the public schools enrolled approximately 7,900,000. This means that although the private schools had about 14 per cent as many school units as the public schools, they were relatively smaller schools because they enrolled only slightly over 9 per cent as many students.[8] The junior college has reflected the influence of the private character of the traditional college. In 1941 there were 261 public and 349 private junior colleges. The enrollments in these junior colleges were even more disproportionate than in the high schools. The private junior colleges made up 57 per cent of the total number of institutions but had only 67,934 students, 29 per cent of the total number of students; 168,228 students were the remaining 71 per cent enrolled in the public junior colleges.[9] The data for 1953 indicate the rapid development of the public junior college in comparison with the private junior college. In 1953 there were 321, or 55 per cent, public and 261, or 45 per cent, private junior colleges, with an enrollment in the former of 489,562, or 87 per cent, and in the latter of 71,169, or 13 per cent enrolled.[10]

To what extent are our schools coeducational? So infrequently do the youth of the public school find themselves segregated by sex that most students are likely to think of the practice as caused by special purposes. In certain sections of the country separate secondary schools for boys and girls are occasionally found. This type of school is native to the Atlantic states and the "deep" South.

8. "Statistical Summary of Education, 1951–52, Vol. II, Chap. II, pp. 3, 7, 10, 11. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1940–42*, Washington: U.S. Office of Education, 1954. Also *Advance School Census Reports for 1954*.

9. Walter C. Eels, *Present Status of Junior College Terminal Education*. Washington: American Association of Junior Colleges, 1941, pp. 3–4.

10. Data adapted from *Junior College Directory, 1954*. Washington: American Association of Junior Colleges, 1954, pp. 46–47. Enrollment data from a few Junior Colleges were not available.

At the time of our early colonization, the European secondary schools were maintained almost exclusively for boys. Only reluctantly was the secondary school made available to both sexes. When this happened, there was a tendency to provide separate schools for girls. With the advent of public education and the emergence of a freer attitude between men and women, segregation tended to give way to coeducation. One suspects that the economics of supporting dual systems of education after the approval of greater educational rights for women may have influenced a more tolerant attitude. As the schools moved westward with the pioneer, old traditions lost their force; the schools became coeducational. Even private secondary schools for one sex only are not numerous west of the Mississippi. The junior colleges have been more conservative than the high schools, but 81 per cent, 474, of these schools are coeducational. Only four of the public junior colleges are restricted to men; none are limited to women. The privately controlled junior colleges list 32 for men only; 71 are restricted to women, and 154 are coeducational.[11]

What is the nature of the pupil population?

How many are in school? In 1954 there were approximately 7,900,000 pupils in the public secondary schools and slightly over 818,000 pupils enrolled in the private secondary schools. For this same year it was estimated that of the age group 14–17 about 86 per

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE
HIGH SCHOOL FROM 1910 TO 1952[12]

Year	Boys	Girls
1910	43.6	56.4
1920	46.6	53.4
1930	48.4	51.6
1938	48.7	51.3
1940	48.8	51.2
1942	48.4	51.6
1952	49.4	50.6

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] "Statistics of Public Secondary Day Schools 1951–52," adapted from Chap. 5, p. 8, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1950–52*. Washington: Office of Education, 1954.

cent were in the secondary school. More girls than boys are enrolled in both public and private secondary schools. The girls exceed the boys by about a quarter of a million.

What are the trends in growth? There are not many data on the school enrollments of the early secondary school. The growth of the secondary school began its marked advance at the beginning of this century. From 1880 to the present the growth of the secondary school has been spectacular:

TABLE 11

INCREASE IN THE ENROLLMENT OF THE
HIGH SCHOOL FROM 1880 TO 1952

Year	Enrollment
1880	110,277
1890	202,964
1900	519,251
1910	915,061
1920	2,199,389
1930	4,399,422
1937	7,420,702
1942	7,900,000
1952	7,900,000

Starting with 110,277 students in 1880, the high school has almost doubled its enrollment each ten years thereafter to 1940. Because of the war the 1952-enrollment remained approximately as it was in 1940. Our secondary school thus has had a growth unparalleled anywhere in the world outside of Russia. Over a fifty-year period the American secondary school increased approximately 4,000 per cent.

This is not a complete picture. The statistics quoted refer exclusively to those pupils enrolled in recognized secondary schools, either regular or reorganized. Apart from these schools there were, in 1950, about two and three-fourths million pupils in the seventh and eighth grades of our elementary schools. The holding power of these grades has been growing in effectiveness for the past two decades. This means that if we are to consider as essentially secondary all enrollments in the public schools beyond the sixth grade, there were, in 1950, over 10 million youths of secondary school level in our schools.

TABLE 12

INCREASE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND POPULATION,
14-17 YEARS OF AGE, 1889-90 TO 1949-50 [12]

| | Population 14-17 Years of Age | | Number Enrolled Per 100 Population 14-17 Years of Age |
	Number	Per Cent Increase Over 1889-1890	
1889-1890	5,354,653		7
1899-1900	6,152,231	14.9	11
1909-1910	7,220,298	34.8	15
1919-1920	7,735,841	44.5	32
1929-1930	9,341,221	74.5	51
1939-1940	9,720,419	81.5	73
1941-1942	8,663,982	80.5	72
1949-1950	8,404,757	57.0	86

What is the probable future trend in school population? It is estimated that the phenomenal rate of growth of our secondary schools will reach its peak probably in 1965. The growth momentum maintained for the past fifty years began to show a slight abatement in 1940. At that ten-year mark the secondary school did not duplicate its previous performances by doubling its enrollment. We may expect a gradual dropping of the growth curve over the next two or three decades.

Several factors will affect the future tempo of growth of the secondary school population. As a people we are growing older; an increasingly smaller percentage of our population is under twenty. The birth rate had been steadily decreasing, except for a short period immediately following World War I. Since World War II there has been an increase in the birth rate. But the proportion of young people to older is getting smaller. How much the high school enrollments may be influenced in the immediate future by this change in the birth rate may be seen from this statement by Meyer

students. By 1930 the number of junior colleges has increased to 429, with 67,627 enrolled. The 1954 report listed 582 junior colleges, with a total enrollment of 489,563.

To what extent does the school retain the pupils?

Judged by the criterion of increased ratio of enrollment for the age group 14–17, the holding power of the high school has steadily advanced. The ratio of those who begin high school in a certain year and graduate four years later is a more exact way of determining this fact. Fortunately, the data are available. Of the freshmen who began their four-year secondary course in succeeding years from 1927–28 to 1946–47 the data show that slowly but gradually the loss of students grade by grade toward graduation has been reduced.

TABLE 13

NUMBER SURVIVING BY HIGH SCHOOL YEAR PER 1,000 PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL IN THE YEARS INDICATED [13]

High School Year	1928–29	1930–31	1932–33	1934–35	1936–37	1938–39	1946–47
I...........	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
II..........	768	815	848	847	845	886	884
III.........	627	669	677	687	725	736	748
IV.........	562	591	586	601	651	640	660
Graduates..	495	492	513	541	581	583	625

The secondary school can find much room for concern in the actual losses from grade to grade. Even in the 1950 graduating class the drop-outs had reached 25 per cent by the beginning of the third year. The fact that 65 per cent of the students start the senior year but only 62.5 per cent manage to graduate suggests that increasing the holding power of the high school is a necessary move.

A similar study made of the holding power of the high school for the elementary school revealed that the high school is a very attractive magnet for the eighth grader. Of 1,000 pupils who entered

[13] Adapted from "Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42," Chap. I, p. 30. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1948–50.* Washington: Office of Education, 1953.

the fifth grade in 1946–47, the transition to the high school was made with a loss of only 28 pupils out of the 842 who completed the eighth grade, as follows:

TABLE 14

NUMBER SURVIVING THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL PER 1,000 PUPILS
ENROLLED IN THE FIFTH GRADE 1906–07 TO 1946–47 [16]

	Number Surviving per 1,000 Pupils in Fifth Grade						
	1906– 07	1922– 23	1925– 26	1929– 30	1932– 33	1933– 35	1946– 47
Fifth grade........	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
High School graduation........	139	241	316	403	457	467	590

Drop-outs in this group between the freshman and sophomore years, however, trebled those of the previous year, and only 590 remained to graduate in 1954.

What causes failure to enter? Thus far we have observed the extent to which youth is attracted to and retained in the secondary school. There is much to encourage us in the evidence of the increased holding power of the secondary school. On the other hand, the school's failure to attract and hold large numbers of youth needs further attention.

In 1922, George S. Counts made a *notable study of the percentage of children in the senior year in high school from the various occupational groups.* Only one member of the senior class was a laborer at age 45, compared with 69 in "professional services," 68 in "managerial services," and 56 in "proprietors" groups. Data assembled on the basis of the occupation of parents of high school seniors revealed that for every 1.4 children of laborers in the senior class there were *17.4 children of the proprietors' group.*[17] Looked at from another angle, for every 2.5 children of high school age at

[16] Adapted from data supplied by Walter H. Gaumnitz, Office of Education in a letter, June 14, 1954.
[17] George S. Counts, *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 41, 47.

work from the proprietors' group there were 16 at work from the labor group. Counts concluded that the economic reason was a very pertinent one for youth's attendance in the high school. "In a very large measure participation in the privileges of a secondary education is contingent on social and economic status." [18]

Eckert and Marshall in the New York Regents Inquiry in 1938 found approximately two out of three pupils who dropped out of school below the ninth grade came from economically underprivileged homes. [19] Bell in the Maryland study found that eleven children from homes in the upper economic levels completed the eighth grade for every child from homes at the lowest economic levels. A study conducted in more than 70 secondary schools located in the principal sections of Illinois outside the city of Chicago disclosed that 72 per cent of all youth who dropped out of high school came from families of low income. A second study carried on in 13 of these 70 odd schools revealed that participation in the "fun-yielding, prestige-bearing extra class activities of the school was principally a function of the accident of birth in an economic sense." [20] Punke reports the expenses of high school seniors incident to graduation from 26 small to medium-sized white public schools in 6 southeastern states. The average expense for such items as graduating pictures, invitations, banquets, jewelry, and clothes and diplomas ranged from $52.00 to over $150.00. It is significant that only 49 per cent of the seniors participated in the first three items of expense listed above. Evidently poverty was a deterrent to general participation. [21]

Hand's report on the hidden tuition cost study of 79 Illinois high schools shows that for a majority of students membership in regular classes involves considerable expense for fees, books and materials. Costs for textbooks and materials for senior courses in English ranged from a median of $5.00 to over $30.00, in mathematics from a median of $2.75 to $6.00, in science from a median of $5.00 to

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[19] Ruth E. Eckert, and Thomas O. Marshall, *When Youth Leave School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, p. 72.

[20] Harold C. Hand, "Do School Costs Drive Out the Youth of the Poor," *Progressive Education*. 28 89-93. January, 1951.

[21] Harold H. Punke, "Expenses of High School Seniors," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*. No. 204, 38:90-96, October, 1954.

$20.00, in social studies from a median of $3.75 to $12.50, in commercial subjects from a median of $5.00 to $26.00. Thus in the academic subjects costs per senior course ranged from a low median of $2.75 to over $30.00. The costs associated with the so-called *practical subjects* were found to be much greater. Costs for practical arts courses ranged from a median of $4.45 to $48.00, and in vocational subjects costs ranged per subject from a median of $4.75 to $39.00. The cost of participation in many extra class activities was found to be heavy; for example, costs for membership on a golf team ranged from a median cost of $50.00 to as high as $100.00, for membership on a tennis team costs ranged from a median of $15.00 to nearly $50.00, for membership in a band costs ranged from a median of $2.00 to $265.00. Such facts as these have led Hand to conclude:

> When we view the findings of the Hidden Tuition Cost Study against the report that 28 per cent of all American families are today receiving incomes insufficient to meet the cost of living, it is not surprising that the participation in Extra-Class Activities Study revealed that one factor influencing the extent of participation was socio-economic status since children of the lower-income parents take part much less frequently in the "fun" (but subtly very highly educative) side of school life. And when we compound the findings of these two studies, we find that the Holding Power Study establishes as a fact that it is the children from the lower-income families who drop out of high school in proportions far in excess of their relative number in the age group in question.[22]

The general public is not inclined to think of the amount of money it costs pupils to go to school, even though tuition is free. It is necessary to dress better for school than for a laborer's job, and there are inevitable expenditures for incidentals for school. A careful study of the expenses of the students attending one high school revealed extra costs averaged as follows: freshmen, $72.75; sophomores, $90.75; juniors, $164.45; and seniors, $189.50.[23]

These are but samples of the array of studies that have led to the conviction that one of the major reasons for youth's not going to

[22] Harold C. Hand, *Principal Findings of the 1947–1948 Basic Studies of The Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program*, Bulletin No. 2, May, 1949. Springfield, Illinois: State Department of Education, pp. 28–66.

[23] Francis H. Dolan, "Hidden Student Costs," *The Bulletin* of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, No. 188, 36:139–191, October, 1952.

school is economic. About 10 per cent of our American families are continually at the ragged edge of poverty with an annual income of $2,000 or less. Another 10 per cent of our families, those with an annual income below $3,000, must count it a real sacrifice to send their children to high school. The cost of better clothing and extra burden of incidentals at school make the possible earning capacity of the youth at this time a consideration. If a youth finds it impossible to keep up with his crowd if he goes to school but possible if he takes a job, the job is likely to win.

Another reason for the secondary school's lack of attraction is the belief of many parents and youth that the school does not offer anything worth while for those who are not going to college. It is implied in the data given above. The tremendous amount of money spent by youth and young adults for courses at commercial trade schools and for correspondence courses also implies a lack of confidence in the practical values of the typical high school.

What factors tend to eliminate pupils from school? It is generally agreed that there are at least three main factors that contribute to the elimination of pupils from the secondary school:

ECONOMIC: The economic factor both keeps youth from beginning school and leads to their dropping out once they have started. Counts cites evidence from his study to show that the economic factor has much to do with the holding power of the school. Eckert and Marshall observed that "On the average, the poorer the student is, the sooner he will leave school. Those who most desperately need what the school might offer because of their circumscribed home background and their limited ability to learn directly from experience are the least likely at the present time to receive it." [24] Bell agrees in these words: "Of all the factors considered in the present study, probably the most potent one in determining a youth's grade attainments is his father's occupation." [25] Lovejoy, in the North Carolina Youth Survey of 1938-40, substantiates these findings thus:

By looking at the matter of the grade completed by the out-of-school youths in relation to their father's occupation . . . we see that the most

[24] Ruth E. Eckert and Thomas O. Marshall, *When Youth Leave School.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, p. 78.

[25] Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, p. 58.

favorable educational achievement of the white youths is made by those boys and girls whose fathers are professional persons, proprietors, and clerks. The children of farmers, semiskilled workers, farm laborers, and other laborers complete the fewest number of grades . . . the largest percentage of those youths who attended school only as far as either the grammar school grades or a part of high school fall within the lower income brackets, whereas the majority of those who graduated from high school and either attended or graduated from college are to be found in homes where the annual income is in excess of $1,000.[26]

Similar findings were reported by Hand in 1949 and 1951, Punke in 1954, and Dolan in 1952.

INTELLIGENCE: There appears to be a very significant relationship between intelligence and continuance in secondary school. Kefauver and his associates, in the report of their investigation in 1932, dispose of all previous studies of this problem in the sweeping statement, "Studies of the intelligence of high school pupils have shown beyond question that they are, in this respect also, a selected group as compared with the total population of high school age." [27] That selection was still taking place at the time of this study is revealed in the gradual rise of the median I.Q.'s, from the ninth grade 99, to the tenth grade 101, to the eleventh grade 103, to the twelfth grade 105.[28] Eckert and Marshall found that boys who dropped out of school scored an average percentile score of 18 on an intelligence test as compared with an average percentile score of 73 for those who graduated and a percentile score of 84 for postgraduates. The girls' percentiles were slightly lower than those of the boys. They conclude "Pupils who leave prior to graduation tend to come from low-ability levels, at whatever time they withdraw." [29]

In 1938, a study was reported by Samler of two groups of high school students in New York City. The study covered from June, 1934 to February, 1936, and included 2,577 graduates and 1,387 drop-outs. Samler found the mean I.Q. of the graduates to be 105.6

[26] Gordon W. Lovejoy, *Paths to Maturity.* Findings of the North Carolina Youth Survey, 1938-40. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. 59, 61.

[27] Grayson N. Kefauver, Victor H. Noll and C. Elwood Drake, *The Secondary School Population.* National Survey of Secondary Education, Bulletin No. 17. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932, p. 17.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 31.

[29] Ruth E. Eckert and Thomas O. Marshall, *When Youth Leave School,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939, pp. 51, 54.

and that of the drop-outs to be 96.3.[30] Similar findings were uncovered in the Maryland study of twelve schools in 1941. This study concluded that the chances of graduation from high school of those with an I.Q. of 110 or above were three times better than the chances of those who had an I.Q. of 90 or below.[31] In the Illinois Holding Power Study, Hand reported that the percentage of withdrawals whose projected school grades would have placed them in each of certain quarters of their graduating class were 78 per cent in lowest quarter, 15 per cent in second quarter, 5 per cent in third quarter, and 2 per cent in highest quarter. Hand concludes: "Persistently dubbing as inferior the children who by virtues of the accident of birth in an I.Q. sense happen not to be capable of doing 'average work' is to make operative the reasonable certain recipe for eliminating these boys and girls." [32]

INTEREST: One of the major reasons for leaving school given by youths is the lack of challenge the school presents to them. Lovejoy found that 40 per cent of the white boys and almost 30 per cent of the white girls he spoke to gave "tired of school" as the reason for quitting school. About 20 per cent of the negro boys and girls gave the same reason. On this point he comments, "That such a large per cent of them leave school because they are tired of it is not a glowing tribute to the manner in which the schools are functioning." [33]

Although only 11 per cent of youths in the Dillon study said they left school because of lack of interest, Dillon points out the strong likelihood that many others who gave other reasons actually left for the same reason. Hand states that 30 per cent of pupils still in high school indicated a lack of interest in school and concludes

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[30] Joseph Samler, "The High School Graduate and Drop-Out," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 7:105–109, December, 1938.

[31] *A Program of Reorganization for the Public Secondary Schools of Prince George's County, Maryland*. Survey Committee, College of Education, University of Maryland, 1941, Chap. 2.

[32] Harold C. Hand, *Principal Findings of the 1947–1948 Basic Studies of the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program*. Bulletin No. 1, May, 1949. Springfield, Illinois: State Department of Education, p. 14. For similar conclusion see, Joseph A. Wetstein, *A Survey of the Educational Holding Power of the Community of Fulda and Murray County, Minnesota*, unpublished Master's thesis 1950.

[33] Gordon W. Lovejoy, *Paths to Maturity*. Findings of the North Carolina Youth Survey, 1938–40. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. 63, 64.

this is another major reason for leaving school.[34] Wettstein found that lack of interest was an important reason given by drop-outs in Minnesota.[35]

TABLE 15

FREQUENCY OF REASONS GIVEN BY 957 YOUTH AS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE IN DECISION TO LEAVE SCHOOL [36]

Reasons	Frequency	
	No.	Per Cent
Reasons Relating to School		
Preferred work to school......................	342	36
Was not interested in school work.............	103	11
Could not learn and was discouraged...........	66	7
Was failing and didn't want to repeat grade.....	55	6
Disliked a certain teacher......................	47	5
Disliked a certain subject......................	39	3
Could learn more out of school than in school....	16	1
Financial Reasons		
Needed money to buy clothes and help at home..	144	15
Wanted spending money......................	55	6
Personal Reasons		
Ill health....................................	49	5
Friends had left school........................	29	3
Parents wanted youth to leave school...........	20	2
Total....................................	957	100

A similar set of findings was made by Talkovich in his study of drop-outs in Central High School, Duluth, Minnesota.

[34] Harold C. Hand, *Principal Findings of the 1947-1948 Basic Studies of the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program.* Bulletin No. 2, May, 1949, Springfield, Illinois: State Department of Education, p. 17.

[35] Joseph A. Wettstein, *A Survey of the Educational Holding Power of the Community of Fulda and Murray County, Minnesota.* An unpublished Masters degree study, University of Minnesota, 1950, p. 73. See also Robert J. Thomas, "An Empirical Study of High School Drop-Outs in Regard to Ten Possibly Related Factors," *The Journal of Educational Sociology.* 28:11-18, September, 1954.

[36] Harold J. Dillon, *Early School Leavers.* New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1949, p. 50.

Miscellaneous: The table from the Dillon study indicates that drop-outs recognize three major reasons for their failure to remain in school. No doubt unwillingness to admit lack of mental ability

TABLE 16

REASONS FOR PUPILS WITHDRAWING FROM CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, DULUTH, MINNESOTA, 1945-46 [37]

Reasons Given by Pupils	Number of Pupils
Graduated	23
Poor scholarship	12
Lack of interest in school	42
Disciplinary difficulties	7
Family moved away	37
Illness of pupils	13
Pupil's help needed at home	8
Marriage	3
To go to work	32
Entered military service	20
Miscellaneous reasons	12
Reason unknown	15
Total	224

or nonrecognition of that as a primary cause may account for the fact that only a very small group confess to finding their school-work too difficult. The data cited earlier seem to be clear proof that mental competency is an important factor in school withdrawal.

There are other contributing causes of lesser importance, among them the problem of race. The studies of Bell, Lovejoy, and Eckert and Marshall all show the possible handicap of race in the effort to complete the high school. Some racial groups have not placed the same value on education as the white native American, and in most situations the economic factor has influenced the educational outlook for many racial groups—particularly the Negro. Sex also influences the elimination of students. For well over a generation more girls than boys have been in high school; in 1910 the girls outnum-

bered the boys by 56.4 against 43.6 per cent of the enrollment. This overbalance has been substantially reduced. Yet all studies show that boys still leave school in larger numbers than girls. Two reasons have been given for this: the economic reason and the fact that boys are likely to be less docile than girls. Commenting on the disproportionate withdrawal of boys over girls, Hand suggest that there are less vocational opportunities for girls than for boys.[28]

What can be done to attract pupils and hold them? It is only necessary to note the reasons for the withdrawal of youth from school to see the solution to the problem of holding students. If poverty or economic stringency causes much of the enrollment loss, the school must try every possible means to make the secondary school free. Free textbooks, free supplies, tax support of student activities as a legitimate charge against the school budget, free transportation, and part-time work to cover personal costs—if not the direct grant of a subsidy—should be made available.

The interest and intelligence factors in school success suggest that the curriculum needs to be more intensely studied. It must be made adjustable to the abilities of all youths, either through change or through better guidance of pupils in curriculum choice. When the *unreal verbal emphasis so common today is rejected and attention is focused upon the vital problems of life in the contemporary world,* the curriculum will become more challenging to youth.

There will always be the pull of the job to compete with the school for the attention of the later adolescent boy or girl. Not only must the young people see the values education has for them, but also society must try to remove the temptation of the job. Two possibilities, both now accepted policies but needing more rigorous development, obviously are open here. One is to raise the minimum age for gainful employment to 18, and the other is to raise the compulsory school attendance age to 18 or completion of the equivalent of the 13th grade. At the present time the compulsory school attendance laws are far below that minimum, although several states have set 18 as a minimum age for employment.

[28] Harold C. Hand, *Principal Findings of the 1947-1948 Basic Studies of the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program.* Bulletin No. 2, May, 1949. Springfield, Illinois: State Department of Education, p. 17.

How is the secondary school financed?

What part do local, state, and federal government have in school support? At the present time the schools receive about 50 per cent of their support from the local school district. Over 40 per cent of their income comes from the state; a very small amount comes from the county (5.7 per cent in 1950); and only a trickle as yet from the federal government.

TABLE 18

SOURCE OF LOCAL, COUNTY, AND STATE
REVENUE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1931-32 to 1949-50 [40]

Year	Source		
	Local	County	State
1931-32	71.7	8.8	19.5
1933-34	67.2	9.4	23.4
1935-36	63.5	7.1	29.4
1937-38	63.7	6.5	29.8
1939-40	62.6	6.7	30.7
1941-42	62.2	6.2	31.6
1943-44	60.8	5.6	33.6
1949-50	50.5	5.7	41.2

In 1949-50 the government reports only $130,293,622 as its general contribution toward public education. In other sections of this same report additional sums appropriated for education are mentioned, but evidently they are not considered as belonging to these general funds. It is of interest to note that over the ten-year period covered by the data in Table 18 there has been a gradual acceptance by the state of a large responsibility for the support of public education.

TABLE 19

INCOME FROM GOVERNMENTAL SOURCES
FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION, 1949-50 [41]

Source	Amount
Total Government	4,930,827,055
Federal	130,293,622
State	2,031,202,017
County, city, or district	2,769,331,416

[40] Adapted from "Public School Revenue, 1949-50." *Research Bulletin*, 30:118, December, 1952. Washington: National Education Association.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

What is the problem of local versus federal support and control?
It has been a tradition of American education that the school should
be supported by the local community. Much has been made of the
fact that the federal Constitution makes no mention of education.
The Tenth Amendment left education along with a multitude of
other unnamed responsibilities on the doorsteps of the several states.
The amendment in its sweeping nature provides that "powers not
delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited
by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the
people." Even the early colonial legislation on education, which first
found expression in the "Old Deluder" law of 1647, placed respon-
sibility for the maintenance of education upon the local community.

There were two major reasons for this policy. The European
countries from which our early colonists came had a strong tradi-
tion of local concern for education. Except in Protestant Germany,
education in Europe was looked upon as the primary responsibility of
the church and family. The attempt to establish a federal govern-
ment out of a group of highly individualistic colonies or states made
necessary a careful delimitation of the powers of the federal govern-
ment. Religion and education, to the colonists, were very closely
interrelated. Religion was one of the most decisive issues between
the states; therefore, education was a subject that had to be ignored
by the founding fathers, even though there is abundant evidence of
their high regard for education.[42]

That ancient suspicion between states is still echoed in the sensi-
tive concern so fervently professed by the politician for states'
rights against the federal government. This attitude has successfully
blocked direct aid for education through any major appropriation
although bills have been before the Congress to make large sums of
money available for equalizing educational opportunity.

There are those who oppose more support for schools from the
state and federal government because they fear control of the
schools will tend to shift in the direction of the source of financial
support. They argue that throughout our history whenever the
state or the federal government has appropriated money for any
project, it has tended to assume control of the project. This has

[42] See Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States,* Chap.
IV, Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934 for a discussion of this
phase of the problem.

*been indirectly achieved, so it is claimed, by the federal govern*ment's rigid regulations for spending its money. The rigidity of the regulations imposed upon the expenditure of the money tends to put education into a straitjacket at a time when it should have a wide latitude in which to experiment and to meet local needs.

Those who seek more state and federal aid point to the grave inequalities in educational opportunities and tax burdens between communities and between states. Finance studies made in many states present hundreds of examples. In one district the school was spending $65 per pupil for the education of its children; the tax rate was $11.20 per $1,000 of assessed valuation. A near-by district enjoyed $128 per pupil to spend on its school; the tax rate for this district was $3.40 per $1,000 of assessed valuation. Some relatively rich Minnesota school districts in 1950 had assessed valuations in excess of $250,000 per resident pupil unit in Average Daily Attendance, whereas other districts had assessed valuations of less than $100 per pupil in Average Daily Attendance. It is not difficult to see the difference in educational opportunities that may exist in communities with such varied tax resources. Many states with small district systems have some school districts that do not assess any local school tax; they get their money from the county and state levies. The state of New York in 1950 enjoyed a per-pupil expenditure for education of $295. Mississippi, on the other hand, offers its children *the limited educational opportunity possible on an expenditure of $79.69 per pupil.*[42] This does not mean that Mississippi is indifferent to the needs of its children, either. For New York spends a much smaller per cent of its annual income to provide these advantages to its children than does Mississippi.

Many insist that our complex society no longer can permit one district or one state to be indifferent to the educational opportunity given the children of another district or state. Mobility is a characteristic of American life. The child with the limited educational background probably will migrate as an adult to the community that was able to give its children a good education. In fact, such a community is likely to become a beacon to the less fortunate. To that extent the poor community becomes a liability to the rich one:

[42] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953,* p. 110. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

it plagues the more fortunate community with its illiterate and incompetent citizens. If that were the extent of the difficulty it might be possible, though of course a dubious expression of democracy, to attempt to set up immigration barriers to the more fortunate states and districts as this was unsuccessfully attempted for economic reasons in the depression years of the 1930's. It is not so simple. The studies made by the United States Chamber of Commerce and others show that a very high correlation exists between the educational standards of states and their economic level. The conclusions drawn were that the more education a community had, the higher its rate of income, the greater the stimulation of its wants, and the higher its consequent standard of living. This would mean that the greater a nation's educational emphasis, the greater the business and prosperity of the nation. The educational fortunes of Azusa are presumably reflected in the prosperity of the greater factory centers of San Francisco and New York.[44]

Educationally, as in every other way, the nation and its parts are one. That means some *modus operandi* must be worked out to secure the obvious benefits of equalized educational opportunity for all. Inequality of educational opportunity and the democratic ideal are incompatible. A way must be discovered by which money can be made available to equalize educational opportunity on a nation-wide basis without the numbing effects of rigidity and uniformity from unnecessary prescriptions. The ideal should be "all the federal money necessary to equalize education, with a minimum of controls sufficient only to insure the money's use for the broad purposes for which it is granted."

Can any trends be discerned in the methods of financing? The first clue to possible trends in secondary school support may be found in the over-all trends in the source of public school support. There appears to be a very definite trend to get more assistance on a statewide basis. The data in Table 18 reveal that from 1931–32 to 1949–50 local support for education dropped from 71.7 to 50.5 per cent. At the same time state support rose from 19.5 to 41.2 per cent. This means over one-third more to school support from the state

in an 18-year period. The mounting agitation for a larger share of state money for school support suggests a continued rise in the proportion of state aids to elementary and secondary education.

The search for a large unit of school support has led to the creation of larger districts. Emphasis upon county and regional unit organization has gained in popularity and momentum. The proposals made in New York State for regional vocational institutes and similar regional vocational schools in other states are a straw in the wind. Of recent years the federal government has given more financial emphasis to agricultural education and home economics education. Now there is considerable pressure for an ambitious federal program of vocational education. All these plans suggest that the local district in the future will become less and less the source of financial support of secondary education. By the same token the state, and possibly the federal government, will assume a larger financial responsibility.

How much is spent annually? The reports for 1949-50 indicate that in that year we spent $1,627,643,000 for public secondary schools and $171,555,000 for private secondary schools. The total estimated cost of secondary education, public and private, amounted to $1,799,198,000. This included current expenses and capital outlay.[45] Also approximately $26,000,000 was appropriated by the federal government for vocational education in secondary schools. Our secondary schools, exclusive of junior colleges, now exceed an annual cost of one and a half billion dollars.

What is the status of the personnel?

What is the educational status of the staff? The secondary school principal and teachers are the ones upon whom primary responsibility rests for the success of the school. In the shadows stands the superintendent, who should not be forgotten. He traditionally carries the responsibility for the over-all policies of the school system, including the secondary division. Our concern here, however, will be with the secondary school principal and the teacher.

World War II interrupted the normal professional development of the school staff possibly more than that of any other professional

⁴⁵ "Statistical Summary of Education, 1949-50," p. 11. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1948-50.* Washington: Office of Education, 1953.

group. Data for the secondary school principal comparable to data for the teacher do not exist. A picture of the principal's background of professional preparation will be attempted from more fragmentary studies.

The National Survey of Secondary Schools in 1932 revealed that the smaller high schools had only 3.6 per cent of principals with less than four years of education beyond the high school. There were 62.9 per cent with five or more years above the high school, of which 14.6 per cent had had six years and 6.7 per cent had had seven or more years. The larger the high school, the more training the principal was likely to have.[46] Gasque made a study of the training of secondary school principals in Virginia in 1936. He found that 66 per cent had attained the Bachelor's degree, whereas only 5.63 per cent had not. On the other hand 28.15 per cent had received the Master's degree and .22 per cent held the Doctor's degree.[47] An extensive study of the qualifications of secondary school principals in seven of the North Central states was reported by Sifert in 1942.[48] He found 53.1 per cent held the Bachelor's degree, and, in addition, 44.8 per cent held the Master's degree and 2.07 per cent had received either the Ph.D. or the Ed.D. degrees. Mack reported that of the 256 high school principals in Massachusetts in 1950–51, 68 held the Bachelor's degree, 172 held the Master's degree, and 9 had attained the Doctor's degree; 215 had done some graduate work; for 7 principals data was not available. The average age of these principals was 46 years, and they averaged 24.4 years of experience in the principalship, with a median of 17 years of experience in their present school systems.[49]

In many states now it is not possible for anyone to receive certification to be a principal in the larger high schools without the equivalent of the Master's degree. In fact to be fully accredited by

[46] E. N. Ferriss, W. H. Gaumnitz, and P. R. Brammell, *The Smaller Secondary Schools.* Bulletin No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education. Washington: Office of Education, 1933, p. 58.

[47] Quincy Damon Gasque, *The Inservice Training of Secondary School Principals in Virginia.* Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 1936.

[48] E. R. Sifert, *A Study of the In-Service Education of High School Principals in a Selected Group of Schools.* Doctor's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1942, p. 108.

[49] A. R. Mack, "A Study of Massachusetts High School Principals," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals,* No. 183, January, 1952, pp. 30–32.

high schools.[51] Siefert found the median teaching and administrative experience of principals in the seven North Central states to be 25 years, with a median of 11 years in their present positions.[52] Mack found the average age for principals in all the high schools of Massachusetts to 46 years.[53] When half the group has given a quarter of a century to its vocation, the group should be able to claim professional status.

The teachers also have been rapidly moving toward professional status. The average length of the teaching experience of all teachers in 1920 was 4 years. In 1940 this had been lengthened to 10 years. The average length of service was 13.3 years for urban junior high schools and 13.6 years for urban senior high schools. A comparison of the average ages of urban teachers over the period 1930–1940 shows an upward trend in teacher age. In 1930 the average age of junior high school teachers was 30, of senior high school teachers 29. By 1940 the average age of both groups had risen to 34 years. It would be fair to say then that the typical secondary school teacher today is several years older and has taught school for more than 15 years.

The problem of a profession is not only one of age and total years in a vocation. Stability also assumes a degree of permanency in one community. Mobility has been characteristic of the teaching vocation. It is estimated that more than half the teachers in the United States have held positions in two or more school systems. In one- and two-teacher schools teacher turnover has averaged two out of five each year. On the other hand, elementary school teachers in cities with more than 100,000 population have an annual mobility ratio of only 1 in 20. In the urban areas teaching may be said to be rapidly approaching the stability required of a profession.

What is the sex distribution? The teaching staff of the public

[51] E. N. Ferriss, W. H. Gaumnitz, and P. R. Brammell, *The Smaller Secondary Schools*. Bulletin No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education. Washington: Office of Education, 1933, p. 62.

[52] L. R. Sifert, *A Study of the In-Service Education of High School Principals in a Selected Group of Schools.* Doctor's Thesis, University of Minnesota, p. 73.

[53] A. R. Mack, "A Study of Massachusetts High School Principals," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, No. 183. January, 1951, p. 31.

schools is predominantly feminine in composition. In 1951–52 there were 729,070 women and 214,968 men public elementary and secondary school teachers. At the secondary level the situation was considerably changed, with 180,467 women and 151,437 men making up the teaching staff. The sex distribution of secondary school personnel tends to equalize when administrative positions are taken into account. (Traditionally men have held the administrative positions in the secondary school; in 1951–52 there were 25,621 men and only 2,305 women listed as principals and assistant principals, making a grand total of 197,376 of women and 182,956 of men.)[24]

What provisions have been made for tenure and retirement? Few groups have been more at the mercy of the employing officials than teachers. As a consequence, tenure has been a matter of considerable concern to the profession. Rapid strides have been made within the past few years to set up teacher employment safeguards. In 1950 all but seven states provided some form of tenure protection.[25]

Three major types of employment policies govern the terms of teacher employment. The type most commonly used, and the least desirable one, is that of annual election. Some states have laws that deny the Board of Education the right to enter into a contract with a teacher for more than one school year. Under this kind of a contract the teacher may or may not be re-employed at the close of the year; no obligation for further employment rests upon either teacher or school board. The smaller the community, the more prevalent is the practice of the annual contract.

The second form of contract, which has been coming into usage as an improvement over the annual contract, is known as the continuing contract. Seven states provide for continuing contracts on a statewide basis. Several states, among them Minnesota, make continuing contracts operative in certain classes of districts. Under this type of contract the Board of Education must notify the teacher by a certain date that his contract will terminate at the

close of the school year, otherwise the contract is automatically continued for another year or until such legal notice is given.

The third type of tenure, the one most favored, is the permanent tenure plan. Usually a probationary period of two to three years precedes the permanent tenure status. The teacher is employed and is on trial for whatever length of time is legally specified as probationary. If three years is the legal probationary period, the teacher may be discharged at any time during the three-year period at the discretion of the school. Should the teacher be permitted to begin the fourth year of teaching, he has permanent tenure. After that, he can be dismissed only for specified cause such as insubordination, immorality, or gross negligence; and this usually can be done only after trial on the charges. A study made of tenure practices of cities in 1941 showed that teachers in 40 per cent of the cities studied enjoyed permanent tenure.[56] In 1950 12 states and Hawaii had statewide tenure after a probationary period; ten others provided for permanent tenure in certain types of districts. There has been marked advance in tenure legislation over the past decade. Several states have passed statewide tenure laws within the past dozen years.

Closely akin to tenure protection in the mind of the teacher is the question of financial safeguards for old age. Unlike tenure, retirement plans have a long history. Prior to 1920 most teacher retirement or pension plans went on the rocks because of unsound actuarial provisions. But teacher pension plans were not alone in bankruptcy; many insurance companies also found it necessary to establish a new actuarial basis.

Teacher retirement plans have persisted, have become more inclusive in scope, and have grown in popularity. By 1945 statewide, joint-contributory retirement plans were in operation in 44 states. Delaware, New Mexico, and Rhode Island have statewide retirement plans to which teachers are not required to contribute. So complete is the spread of retirement legislation that on April 30, 1945, 98.5 per cent of teachers were covered by joint-contributory plans, and 1.0 per cent were covered by wider plans to which teachers do not contribute; only 0.5 per cent teachers had not re-

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[56] *Teacher Personnel Procedures: Selection and Appointment.* Research Bulletin, Washington National Education Association, March, 1942, p. 73.

TABLE 20

MEDIAN SALARIES OF PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN CITIES, 1930–31 TO 1952–53 [58]

Position	Years	Median Salaries					
		Cities 2,500– 5,000	Cities 5,000– 10,000	Cities 10,000– 30,000	Cities 30,000– 100,000	Cities 100,000– 500,000	Cities Over 500,000
Principal—Junior High School	1930–31	1,775	2,184	2,763	3,353	3,805	4,969
	1940–41	1,595	1,992	2,598	3,175	3,761	5,134
	1950–51	3,550	4,013	4,579	5,257	5,649	7,115
	1952–53	3,917	4,365	5,221	5,848	6,220	7,773
Percentages of Increase	1930–31 to 1952–53	120.7	99.9	89.0	74.4	63.5	56.4
Principal— High School	1930–31	2,403	2,825	3,613	4,281	4,547	5,674
	1940–41	2,136	2,595	3,303	4,000	4,183	5,412
	1950–51	4,177	4,548	5,123	5,967	6,291	8,107
	1952–53	4,598	5,082	5,710	6,523	6,892	9,156
Percentages of Increase	1930–31 to 1952–53	91.3	79.9	58.0	52.4	51.6	61.4

for all public school teachers. In 1950–51 rural high school teachers received, on the average, $2,804; teachers in smaller cities with populations under 5,000 received $2,831; and teachers in cities over 5,000 in the same year received $4,456. It may be of interest to teachers to know that in 1952–53 there were considerably over

TABLE 21

MEDIAN SALARIES OF PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN CITIES
1930–31 TO 1952–53 [22]

Size of Community	Secondary School Position	Median Salaries Paid in				Per Cent of Increases 1930–31 1952–53
		1930–31	1940–41	1950–51	1952–53	
2,500– 5,000	Junior H.S.	1,360	1,301	2,903	3,233	137.7
	High School	1,547	1,428	3,067	3,498	126.1
5,000– 10,000	Junior H.S.	1,494	1,452	3,005	3,436	130.0
	High School	1,692	1,626	3,220	3,620	113.9
10,000– 30,000	Junior H.S.	1,619	1,597	3,204	3,695	128.2
	High School	1,876	1,803	3,490	3,954	110.8
30,000– 100,000	Junior H.S.	1,660	1,847	3,569	4,069	118.8
	High School	2,111	2,039	3,782	4,292	103.3
100,000– 500,000	Junior H.S.	2,124	2,087	3,719	4,023	89.4
	High School	2,412	2,288	3,995	4,360	80.8
Over 500,000	Junior H.S.	2,693	2,801	4,501	4,897	81.8
	High School	3,061	3,106	4,947	5,526	80.5

12,000 secondary school teachers who received salaries of $6,000 or more.

So that the prospective secondary school administrator or high school teacher can compare incomes for the teaching profession with the incomes of other professions, it may be well to start with the over-all incomes of American wage earners. The 1952 United States Census reports that the median wage or salary in the United States amounted to $2,502 for workers of both sexes. The median wage or salary was $1,398 for women and $3,201 for men. Data on income by families for 1952 were reported by the Bureau of the Census [23] as follows:

[22] Adapted from *Salaries and Salary Schedules of Urban Employees, 1951–53,* pp. 72–78, Research Bulletin. Washington: National Education Association, April, 1953.
[23] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954.* Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1954, pp. 314, 318.

16. Why are educators insistent upon the desirability of "equality of educational support" irrespective of locality?

17. Make studies of the relative school taxes levied and per pupil expenditures between local communities and between states.

18. To what extent have our secondary school teachers increased their average tenure since 1900?

19. What relationship exists between teacher salaries and training, size of community, and experience?

20. Make a study of recent state and national educational associations' efforts to raise the salary levels of teachers. Have reports brought back to class. What have the local State Educational Association and other local educational organizations done to raise the salary levels and educational standards of the teaching profession?

21. To what extent are we now justified in claiming to have a teaching profession?

22. Trace the rise and decline of men in the teaching profession. What, if any, importance does this issue have in public education? Have a panel or class discussion on this issue.

23. What developments have taken place in recent years to protect "teacher tenure"?

24. What are some of the public issues, as opposed to teacher issues, in the tenure problem?

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CHAPTER X

Who Should Be Responsible for the Program of the School?

What is the responsibility of governmental agencies for the program of the secondary school?

What responsibility is exercised by the federal government? The question of the responsibility of the federal government for education has been hotly debated during most of the life of the Republic. The federal Constitution makes no specific reference to education; Article X of the Bill of Rights, ratified in December, 1791, states: *The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.* This early amendment to the Constitution has been interpreted to mean that education is one of the unnamed powers delegated to the states. The fact that no mention was made of education in the Constitution has led many to assume that the framers of the Constitution either were not concerned with education or considered education a state responsibility. It is true that education in the colonies was largely decentralized; except for New England the colonies did not take much interest in the support or control of education. It was a local community or parental affair. The antecedents of the colonists made education the primary responsibility of the home and the church. The extreme jealousies that existed between the colonies over their rights were a source of controversy that was carried into the debates over the federal Constitution by several states until the Bill of Rights was approved. "States' rights" jealousy has persisted and still exists today.

There is evidence that the framers of the Constitution were not indifferent to the claims of education upon the federal government. The journal of Madison indicated that, at one time during the drafting of the Constitution, federal control of education was on the list of powers intended to be incorporated into the Constitution, although it was later omitted. Hamilton and others believed education was provided for in the words *promote the general welfare*, and therefore did not need a special constitutional provision. Jefferson in 1806 and Madison in 1817 strongly recommended a constitutional amendment that would make education clearly a responsibility of the federal government.

At the very time the Constitution was being drafted, the Congress passed two acts that linked the central government with education. The first was the Ordinance of 1785. This act provided for the survey and disposal of certain western lands known as the Northwest Territory. One provision of this act states: "There shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township." By this provision a section of land, consisting of 640 acres in the center of each township, was made available for schools. The second act, known as the Ordinance of 1787, is generally considered our American "charter of public education," because of the statement "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The federal government in many ways has continued to encourage education and thereby has acknowledged indirectly its responsibility for education. It has substantially aided education through many land grants: the most important of these, the Morill Act of 1862, provided for the establishment of colleges devoted particularly to agricultural and vocational education. This Act gave to each state for the support of such a college $30,000 for each senator and representative of that state in Congress. From time to time additional funds have been granted to land grant colleges and universities that have met the provisions of the Act.

More recently the government has given large sums of money to encourage certain types of vocational education at the secondary school level. The first of these grants came through the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which provided for education in agriculture,

home economics, trades, and industry, and teacher education in these fields. This Act created, also, a Federal Board of Vocational Education to administer the Act. A number of federal grants for vocational education for secondary school youth have followed the Smith-Hughes law. The most important of these are the George-Reed Act, passed by Congress in 1929, and the George-Ellzey Act of 1934, which gave additional funds to the vocational education program as outlined in the Smith-Hughes law. In 1936 the George-Deen Act increased the amount of money available for vocational education. This Act further extended the program of vocational education to add distributive occupational subjects including "public and other service occupations" and guidance. The George-Barden Act, passed in 1946, doubled the funds available for vocational education. In addition to the educational program already in operation, provision was made for: (1) reimbursement of employment of Vocational Counsellors and Vocational Guidance Supervisors; (2) authorized use of federal funds for the purchase or rental of equipment or supplies for vocational instruction; (3) authorized preemployment classes for out-of-school youth over 18 years of age.[1]

For several years a bill has been before Congress in various forms to give a large money grant to the several states to advance and equalize educational opportunity. In 1918 the Smith-Sears Vocational Rehabilitation Act was passed to provide education for certain types of World War I veterans. In connection with World War II Congress enacted two very comprehensive laws to provide for educational opportunities for the veterans. The first, "Providing for Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Veterans," was passed in 1943; it made generous provision for the vocational education of disabled veterans at all levels—secondary school level through graduate professional study. Another law passed in 1944 entitled "Service Man's Readjustment Act," commonly known as the GI Bill, provided further educational opportunity for veterans whose education had been interrupted by the war. It provided for sec-

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[1] For more detailed data concerning federal aid to education see Arthur B. Moehlman, School Administration, Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951, Part V; John T. Wahlquist, An Introduction to American Education, Revised. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950, pp. 169-187; and Fletcher H. Swift, A History of Public Permanent Common School Funds in the United States, 1795-1905. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1911.

ondary, college, and even graduate level educational privileges. These laws have been amended from time to time to liberalize their provisions.

Another important link in the federal government's acknowledgment of its responsibility for education is the Department of Education which was created as a part of the machinery of the federal government by Congressional enactment in 1867. The duties of this Department of Education were stated to be:

> For the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school system and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.[2]

The Department of Education was renamed the Bureau of Education two years later. Throughout its history it has undergone changes in title until at this writing it is known as the Office of Education. In 1953 the Office of Education was made part of a newly created Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and its Secretary made a member of the Cabinet.

Throughout its history the Office of Education has been considered a central clearing house of important statistical data on education and a medium of general information concerning education. It was not expected to exercise administrative authority. However, the growing interest in education on the part of the federal government, as indicated by its money grants to public education, has increased the prestige of the Office of Education and given it considerable administrative authority over the carrying out of the provisions of these grants. In its internal organization the Office of Education has one major division devoted to the problems of secondary education.

Clearly, there has been a steady growth in federal interest and participation in education; gradually the federal government has become vitally concerned with education at the secondary level. Further increases in federal support of education will, no doubt, be felt most in the area of secondary education.

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[2] Thirty-ninth Congress, 2d session. 14 St L., p. 434.

What responsibility is exercised by the state government? Inasmuch as the Constitution did not mention education, the states have assumed that this responsibility belongs to them as one of the unnamed powers delegated to them by the federal government. At the time of the adoption of the federal Constitution, several of the states had recognized education as their responsibility in their own state constitutions. In the beginning many of the states were almost as hesitant to assume a positive attitude toward a state program of education as was the federal government. At present all of the states have made provision for a system of public schools in their constitutions. The influence of the colonial era is evident in the approach to a program of education made by the several states; the tradition of local autonomy prevails almost everywhere. The reluctance of the state to grapple seriously with its responsibility for a state program of education is clearly evidenced in its hesitancy to pass mandatory legislation affecting the schools. Much of the early state legislation was permissive in character: this legislation permitted the people in different communities of the state to create school districts, levy taxes, and maintain schools. An example of this type of legislation is the Illinois optional tax law of 1827, which provided that voters were permitted to decide the question of raising one-half the cost of the school by taxation and that no man could be taxed for school support unless he had filed his written consent to be so taxed. A similar optional law in Mississippi, passed as late as 1846, required that two-thirds of the heads of families in the district must file written statements of consent before the district could levy a school tax. It was not until the middle of the last century that compulsory taxation for school support on a statewide basis began to take form. Compulsory school attendance by state requirement was achieved even more slowly: Massachusetts passed the first state compulsory school attendance law in 1852; Mississippi passed such a law in 1918, becoming the last state to make school attendance mandatory.[1] Attendance laws vary in the age limits they impose and the rigorousness of their attendance requirements. The vast majority of the states assume some attendance of the adolescent

[1] For an extended discussion of this problem see Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States,* Chaps. VI–VIII. Revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934.

at secondary schools, and half a dozen states, at least, anticipate graduation from the twelfth grade.

The authority of the state over education has been delegated for the most part to some statewide agency or agencies. Several states, of which New York is possibly the best example, have created a single authority to control education in the state. Some dozen states have two state boards responsible for education. In these states one board is usually responsible for elementary and secondary education and the other is charged with responsibility for higher education. Over half the states delegate responsibility for various phases of education to three or more boards. One state has 13 boards of education; the majority of these boards, however, are in charge of separate institutions of higher education.[4]

In every state there is a chief state school officer who is the executive officer of the board of education wherever there are such boards in charge of elementary and secondary education. Where there is no board of education responsible for elementary and secondary education, the chief state officer is responsible for the supervision of these schools. In either case responsibility for the administration of the public schools is concentrated more and more under their authority. The usual duties of either the board or the chief state school officer involve:

1. Determination of the state's educational policy
2. Distribution of school funds
3. Certification of teachers
4. Determination of the school curriculum
5. Administration of vocational education (in most states)
6. Administration of school library services
7. Supervision of school building plans
8. General administration of elementary and secondary schools

The duties of the chief state school officer and the board of education, where there is one, vary widely. However, the state is continually assuming more authority over education at the elementary

[4] For more detail on the structure and function of these state Boards of Education see *American Education in the Postwar Period*, Part II, Chap. IV. Forty-fourth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945; and John T. Wahlquist, *An Introduction to American Education*, Revised. Chap. IX. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950.

and secondary school levels. Permissive regulations are giving way
to more mandatory requirements dealing with minimum number of
days each year schools must be in session, minimum length of the
school day, minimum size of school both in number of pupils at-
tending and number of teachers employed within school classifica-
tions, minimum expenditures for schools in each community and
type of school, salary minimums for teachers, certification require-
ments for teachers, minimum curriculum offerings in the schools,
and numerous other regulations that become "musts," not options,
of school districts.

Although the old sentiments and prejudices in favor of local con-
trol of education are still strongly felt in almost every community,
the states (with an accelerated pace in recent years) are extending
their control over education. Vast changes, particularly at the sec-
ondary level, are in the offing. The elimination of small school dis-
tricts continues. The nature of secondary education makes the
problem of the size of the school enrollment doubly important at
this educational level. The trend toward the extension of the sec-
ondary school program through the fourteenth grade with a greater
emphasis upon vocational offerings demands larger school district organi-
zation, better coordination between secondary school districts, and
a radical change in the base of school support. All this suggests that
the present trend toward more statewide responsibility for the ad-
ministration of secondary education will greatly increase in the
years just ahead.

*What should be the responsibility of the federal and state gov-
ernments for secondary education?*

FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY: The federal government is in an ex-
cellent position to aid secondary education. It now has extensive
precedents for all manner of educational activities. The first and
primary responsibility that many believe the federal government
should assume is the equalization of educational opportunity for all
youth. The youths of the poor states should have the same educa-
tional opportunities as the youths who, by accident of birth, are
favored with splendid school privileges. All educators have agreed
that this aid should be made available to each state with a minimum
of federal controls. A second activity, now carried on in part by the
Office of Education, which should be greatly expanded is research
and field studies. Excellent work has been done, but the government,

through the Office of Education, could do much more directly and in cooperation with state Departments of Education, cities, and educational agencies of national or regional influence. It could stimulate improvement in curriculum and instructional activities through more extensive collection of and reporting on data on innovations and improved educational practices among the secondary schools of the nation, and of other nations. A third government role, carried on largely by the Office of Education, is that of a consultative and advisory agency. This has proved most valuable and should be greatly extended. The division on secondary education of the Office of Education could render the secondary school invaluable service by enlarging and improving its advisory and consultative service.

Governmental support of secondary education in the future should be centered in one educational agency such as the present United States Office of Education or a new Department of Education.[5] Whatever type of organization should be given responsibility for education on a national scale should be independent of other branches of the government. It should have prestige, and it should be adequately staffed, financed, and clothed with such responsibility as to make it an educational force in the nation. All educational activities of the federal government should arise in this official government division; those that concern the states or particular sub-units of the states should channel through the state Departments of Education. The dualism in the administration of secondary education that has arisen in many states as a result of the government's efforts to deal directly with the state in its vocational education program has created in many instances unfortunate overlapping, confusions and rivalries. Vocational education is costly both in equipment and in administration. The federal government can make a real contribution to the educational opportunity of youth by its grants for this and other phases of secondary education. In every case such aid should come through the Office of Education to the state Departments of Education for their administration.

The Civil Conservation Corps and the National Youth Adminis-

[5] For convenience the central agency of the federal government concerned with education will hereafter be referred to as the Office of Education.

tration programs represented an effort by the federal government to meet emergency depression needs of youth in the 1930's. The CCC at first was planned to provide work camps in areas where rapidly depleting national resources might be conserved by building dams, planting trees, making trails through the forest, and other useful work. Later an educational program was developed in connection with this organization. The NYA was created in an effort to provide worthy youths a chance to complete their secondary or college education. Each youth was paid a certain sum of money, in return for which he did a certain amount of useful work for the school in which he was enrolled. In some situations the NYA itself set up extensive programs of vocational education that actually came into competition with the regular secondary schools.

This type of governmental program for youth education has been both praised and condemned. Conducted by noneducationally-trained leaders, for the most part, the educational programs offered were not always well adapted to the needs of the youth they served, nor were they always efficiently conducted. It has been argued that the money spent on these programs could have achieved the same purpose better if they had been made a responsibility of the regular secondary schools of the several states and administered directly through state Departments of Education. These programs did suggest, however, an important service that the federal government could render youth in similar situations in the future. The desirability of conserving the major values of these programs as permanent parts of our existing secondary schools or state programs of secondary education is strongly urged by many educators. But most of these educators believe that the government should make available for the states a per capita appropriation for the youth sufficient to permit the state a per capita appropriation for the youth sufficient to permit the state to carry on the activities, thus avoiding the dangers of the federal government's taking over duties that belong to the state.[6]

STATE RESPONSIBILITY: In our present American system of gov-

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[6] The question of the relationship of the federal government to the state in matters of education is a much debated one. For an extended consideration of the problem the student should read the chapter on "Federal-State Relationships" in Arthur B. Moehlman, *School Administration*, Part V. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Revised, 1951.

ernment the primary responsibility for education rests with the state. The trends point to increased acceptance by the state of this responsibility. Educators are in general agreement that the state should exercise more responsibility for the over-all educational opportunities of youth. To achieve this in the most efficient manner, the over-all responsibility for education within the state should be centered in one nonpolitical agency. A single state Board of Education with a Chief Executive Officer in charge of all educational activities from nursery school to university is the ideal. Only by such a device can secondary education in all of its ramifications be properly coordinated and encouraged.

Education in general, and secondary education in particular, must in the future be thought of more in the total unit perspective of the state and less in the comparative isolation of the small district unit. The secondary school program must be organized on a larger local unit basis and interrelated into a statewide system of secondary schools. To provide for individual differences in interests and aptitudes, the secondary school in each community must be large enough to provide the staff and the facilities for a diversified program of approximately equal quality for all youths, irrespective of their residence.

The highly desirable trend to extend the secondary school to include the thirteenth and fourteenth grades creates problems that only a statewide approach to their solution appears possible. The state of New York, with its highly centralized system of education, has proposed a system of Institutes, essentially vocational in nature and similar in size and program offering, distributed over the state. The state was to be divided into large regions with one Institute to serve each region. The youth from the lower-level secondary schools within a given region would be free to attend these Institutes. A similar plan is described as an ideal suggested in *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*.[7] Here the secondary school, tentatively organized on the 3-3-2 basis, designated the last two-year school units as Community Institutes, with 50 per cent of their time devoted to general education and the other 50 per cent given over to vocational education. The two-year Community Institutes were

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[7] Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*, Chaps. VI, VIII–IX. Washington: National Education Association, 1952.

set up by the regional community and the state Department of Education. The range of basic vocational offerings of each Institute, except those serving agricultural areas, was the same. The special offerings for occupations of limited demand and limited enrollments were distributed among the several Institutes of the state. Provision was made for youths desirous of training in one of these limited vocational fields irrespective of regional location.

To make possible such improvements, the state must take more responsibility for leadership in the reorganization of its school districts. Also it must assume a greater obligation for the financial support of the schools to insure equality of the economic burden between school districts. Certainly the state must have authority to approve and coordinate the curriculum offerings of the upper levels of the secondary schools, particularly some sort of balanced vocational training is to be offered, as proposed in *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*. Educators believe the picture of state responsibility for schools outlined in this document is sound. It is a prophecy of the type of educational practice we may expect in the future.

To what extent should the local community and the parents be responsible for the school program?

The American schools have always had the tradition of local autonomy. Although the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution has been interpreted as having left the responsibility of education to the several states, we have seen how reluctant the state has been to impose its will upon the local community in matters of education. Historically, the local community has shown its jealousy of every effort of the state to encroach upon it ancient prerogative.

Our failure to develop a more highly coordinated and integrated program of statewide education has been due mainly to the unwillingness of the local communities to surrender their time-honored control of the schools. Even so, there has been developing in recent years an apparent apathy toward the work of the schools on the part of the rank-and-file citizen in the local community. This can be partially accounted for by the steady trend away from an agricultural rural life to an industrial urban one. In the small rural community the school and the church are the major institutions around which local interests focus; this is not true in the larger

urban centers, where attention is diverted to so many other phases of community activity. Too, the school has become larger; its physical location is likely to be farther away from the home; it may even be lost in the mass of urban buildings. The personnel of the school in the urban community are no longer personally acquainted with most of the students' parents. Further, the technical developments in education and the growing complexity of the school program have baffled the typical layman. All these things taken together have given the average citizen a sense of being a stranger to the school and have discouraged his participation in its activities.

Modern developments in educational theory make closer cooperation between the community and the school imperative. The emphasis upon a functional conception of education means that the school, the home, and the community must unite in creating the proper pupil environment. It is essential that the school know what the actual environmental conditions are in which the youth lives. In turn the parents and the community must know what the educational purposes of the school are. Only in so far as the two groups work together cooperatively and in full understanding of and agreement on the nature and goals of education, can an intelligent and effective program of education be planned. Modern education envisages the school and the citizens of the community together evolving a program of education for the local community.

School practice, to conform to the ideal of modern education, must get outside of the traditional school room. It is an accepted principle of vocational education today that the youth in training must have direct contact with the vocations in which he is interested. Work experience is a *sine qua non* of those vocationally equipped for a job. Work experience is also advocated for youth who are expecting to become professional men, as a part of general education in such things as: appreciation of physical labor, responsibility on the job, and the development of tact and skill in dealing with people. By the same token, it is thought just as important that youths should study civic life at first hand. They should become fully familiar with the civic problems of their community and develop an understanding of, appreciation for, and actual skill in civic life through responsible participation in civic activities. Our better secondary schools, and even the elementary school, are more and

more identifying their educational program with community life. They send their students in vocational studies out into the community under agreements with business concerns for practical part-time experience on the job. In civic life the schools increasingly are giving youth experience in the solution of real community problems. One high school, for example, was largely instrumental in assisting its city to adopt a city manager plan of government. Another high school in a small village community attacked the problems of dysentery prevalent in the community. In science class they studied the possible sources of infection, discovered that over 60 per cent of the wells which provided the community with water were contaminated, and decided a water system was the solution to the problem. The students made careful estimates of the costs involved, prepared their case, and sold the village council on the desirability of a water system.

The Parent-Teacher Associations throughout the nation have shown a fine sense of community responsibility in sharing in the program of the schools. Some time ago the author was visiting a high school in a large urban center. The older people of the community were predominantly of southern European stock; they had come from an agrarian environment and had brought with them the customs and habits of life characteristic of their culture. Now uprooted from their former mode of rugged outdoor life they were adjusting to the more sedentary ways of an urban community with difficulty. The school, through a careful study of the dietary habits of the students who used the school cafeteria, found that most of these students ate an unbalanced diet of heavy foods unsuited to the restricted physical activities of the school and community. School authorities realized at once that correcting the dietary habits of the students would require the cooperation of the homes. Representatives of the parents, students, and faculty gathered to study the problem and develop a possible educational program that would insure the correction of the unhealthy dietary habits of the pupils with the cooperation of the parents.

There are many community organizations whose counsel and cooperation should be not only welcomed but sought by the schools. Organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, the Grange, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the American Legion, the

Community Council, and the churches must, in the future, be more directly drawn into the work of the school. As an example of such participation, a small village school was concerned with the modernization of its program. Representatives of the different interests within the community were invited to attend the regular faculty meetings and discuss the school program. One thing the faculty wanted was a statement of what the townspeople thought should be the true purposes of a school in that community. The leading women's organization formulated such a statement from the ideas of its own members. When their statement was compared later with the statement developed by the faculty of the school, it was doubtful whether the professional staff had formulated a better statement than the laywomen's organization.

What should be the responsibility of the professionally trained administrative staff for the school program?

In the past the administrator has been more concerned with the routine phases of school organization, physical plant, and finances than with the broad social or community significance of the school program. The newer conceptions of education demand a change of emphasis. In the future the administrative elements of the school must keep clearly in mind that all the machinery of the school exists for one purpose—the education of youth to be tomorrow's competent citizens.

The superintendent, principals, their assistants, supervisors, and counselors likewise must rid themselves of the older line-and-staff idea of administration that conceives of teachers, pupils, and even parents as so many subordinates to be given orders they are expected to carry out with blind obedience. Instead, those in administrative positions must think of themselves as educational leaders, capable of inspiring in others creative thinking and cooperative planning within the framework of our modern conceptions of democratic group action. The realization of this ideal in practice, so essential if school administration is to do its part in implementing the purposes of modern education, is a difficult thing to achieve. The nature of the task involved has been admirably and succinctly stated thus:

A part of the solution will depend upon a rethinking of the concepts of educational leadership and a redirection of practice. . . . Many ad-

ministrators are honestly seeking to advance the cause of democracy in education. But the task is not easy. Tradition must be broken. New patterns of human relationship must be discovered through living together in new ways.[8]

Educational administrators should think of their responsibility in at least three ways: first, they must develop a concept of *leadership in harmony with the best modern understanding of the nature of learning and the social ideal of democracy*. Our understanding of the learning process suggests that behavior patterns will develop in harmony with the educational practices followed in the school. Obedience to rule will surely follow autocratic administrative procedures that demand unquestioned and immediate response to those in authority. Democracy, on the other hand, requires youths capable of thinking constructively and conditioned, *as a matter of habit*, to think and act according to rational conclusions. Such behavior patterns will come only through the exercise of democratic practices in school relationships. The school community, from the superintendent to the youth and parent, should be led to understand and appreciate the principles of democratic procedures in human relationships *as part of the educational process*. Democratic leadership does not mean the surrender of administrative responsibilities to others. The administrator has certain duties associated with his position. He cannot delegate these to others. He may and should share with all other workers an understanding of what these duties are, share with them the problems involved in the discharge *of these duties, and seek their cooperation and counsel as far as* is consistent with the nature of the problem so that the duties involved may be discharged as effectively as possible. Many administrators have received valuable suggestions from teachers, from parents, and even from pupils. There is no surer way of developing an understanding of the meaning of democracy and *an insight into the* processes by which a true democracy functions.

Second, educational administrators must develop a type of educational environment that is consistent with the democratic ideal. There are two major phases of this: (1) a plan that will make it possible for the entire personnel of the school and the community to work together on common tasks; (2) a plan to assure a proper

[8] G. Robert Koopman, *et al.*, *Democracy in School Administration*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943, pp. 44–45.

democratic environment within the school itself. The first phase is particularly important for the secondary school program, where vocational and civic activities require actual and vital participation in community life. At one point it may be the fostering of an organization that will enable administration, teachers, and parents in the community to get together to think about educational problems and cooperate in their practical solution. If the school is more ideally organized for an expression of the democratic way, students may be included also in an organization of this sort, known as the Parent Teacher Student Association. Where practical vocational education concerns are involved, the group organization of business industrial leaders and the school may serve as a clearing house for the consideration of problems in this area; and where the best education of youth necessitates direct contacts with the community, such as work experience, these matters can be worked out to the best interests of all parties. The other phase of this problem involves the setting up of the proper democratic environment within the school itself. For the second phase a flexible type of school organization is necessary—one that provides for change as group living suggests, that is at all times sensitive to the thinking of all groups in the school. The best possible environment is the one that has the largest possible measure of group participation in determining the organization and rules of the school. If the most suitable provisions for physical plant, equipment, and supplies are to be made, the administration should have the cooperation of principals, supervisors, and teachers in studying the needs of the school, and their counsel as to the best that may be obtained within the limitations of the school's budget. The administrator should not attempt to solve all the administrative problems in the school by himself. One new superintendent in a medium-sized school indicated at an early staff meeting what the budget allotment was for library materials. As had been his democratic practice in previous schools, he suggested that the teachers study their needs and prepare lists of the books and materials they desired. The teachers were nonplused at such a request, because previous principals and supervisors had made those selections in years past without consulting the teachers.

Third, administrative leaders must integrate the activities of the local school with the over-all regional or statewide programs. Democratic leaders would not attempt to determine even these

issues without the fullest participation of the school personnel and community. Full understanding of such limiting factors upon the freedom of the local school, even though nothing can be done about it, creates a wholesome attitude on the part of all concerned. Where a well-developed program of Community and Regional Institutes is in existence or is planned, as in the integrated program of secondary education outlined in *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*, it must be carefully integrated.

What responsibility should the teacher have in the development of the program?

Modern education places the teacher at the very center of the educational program. The responsibility of the teacher for this program today is far greater than it was in the yesterdays when "lesson learning" was the chief task of the pupil. In past generations, the teacher simply accepted a program prepared by those considered to be experts in what youth should know. The teacher then undertook responsibility, by the device of "lesson hearing" and drill, of insuring that youths had mastered the facts and mechanical skills deemed by others as the *sine qua non* of education. Today, with the emphasis upon the development in youth of the action patterns consistent with the democratic ideal, the teacher has assumed greater importance in the total scheme of the school organization. Moehlman, in a discussion of the functional conception of modern education in relation to the total *administrative organization* of the school, points out a number of elements that make up the total administrative activity. In reference to the place of the teacher in the total activities of school administration, he makes these pertinent statements:

Analysis of the executive activity should start with purpose. Since instruction is the supreme purpose, it is the most important of all activities in which the school engages . . . instruction is . . . the most important aspect of the executive activity. . . . While all nine of these elements are involved in the executive process and are of *relatively* equal *importance, their final evaluation must be the degree to which they serve and facilitate direct instruction. The teacher is the most important agent in the instructional process, and all other specialized personnel must be considered purely as facilitating agents to make the work of the teacher proceed more efficiently. . . . When public school personnel is properly*

oriented in terms of function, the teacher becomes the most important agent in the executive activity, correlative with instruction as the supreme purpose for the organization and operation of the schools.[9]

Since the teacher is in such a key position in the school organization, his responsibility for the educational program of the school becomes correspondingly great. The fact that all the other activities of the school and its personnel exist to facilitate the work of the teacher leads to one logical conclusion—that in modern education the total personnel of the school must cooperatively think, plan, and, in a measure, execute together the school's educational program. The responsibility of the teacher in relation to the educational program becomes more and more complex.

The teacher becomes responsible, with the school staff and community representatives, for determining the goals of the school. It is a fully accepted axiom of modern education that no teacher can help others attain goals they themselves do not perceive. One of the principal weaknesses of education in the past has been that teachers were asked to teach things the use or value of which they did not understand. The teacher must see the program of education in the perspective of the major purposes of education in a democratic society; and his part in that program as definitely related to these major purposes. The teacher, for example, who is immediately responsible for the preparation of youths for certain vocations, needs to see the relationship of that preparation to the broad purposes as well as the more specific goals of that vocational education. The teacher should also be able to see the student's need for other behavior competencies within the larger pattern. Only as all personnel of the school work together to determine what these purposes are can the teacher fulfill his responsibility to his pupils, the school, and the community.

Closely related to the determination of the purpose of the school program is the teacher's responsibility in planning the nature and organization of the program. This is not a separate activity from that of the determination of the over-all and more limited purposes of the educational program. It cannot be too often repeated that the total program of the school must be thought of as a unitary

[9] Arthur B. Moehlman, *School Administration*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, pp. 232, 260. See also Revised Edition, 1951, for more general discussion of the teacher's administrative functions.

one. Planning the nature of the program is but a single phase of a multiple or interrelated activity. As the teacher must see the overall and related purposes, he must likewise see the nature of the program that needs to be set up to realize these purposes.

Modern curriculum building programs are generally organized on the assumption that the teacher cannot execute a program intelligently unless he has participated in its development. Although the school personnel and the community together will plan the major outline of the educational program, the details must be the responsibility of the teacher. In conformity with this principle of teacher responsibility, local school and state curriculum and course-of-study development programs are composed largely of teachers. The older "courses of study," which were compiled mostly by administrators and educational experts, specified in minute detail both the content to be used and the methods to be employed. Modern courses of study, formulated as they are principally by teachers, are given over largely to suggestions for content and procedures. The more recent courses of study are no longer designated as such, but are given some such title as "Suggestive Teaching Guides" or "Suggestive Curriculum Guides for Teachers."

Within the past decade and a half there has been a rapid shift in the degree to which teachers have participated with administrators and laymen in developing the local school curriculum. The modern conception of the curriculum as primarily concerned with pupil experiences rather than with subject-matter has encouraged this change of emphasis, along with a more realistic acceptance of democracy in school practice. This conception has further emphasized the importance of the teacher in the development of the educational program. Scarcely a school of any size that seriously revises its curriculum in this day fails to place major responsibility for the development of the new program in the hands of the teachers.

Everywhere teacher-dominated groups are at work on the school program. Many cities have developed curriculum councils that are made up largely of teachers. During the summer, schools in increasing numbers are setting up workshops, where for several weeks at school expense teachers, administrators, and laymen spend their entire time planning the school program. Almost every large university or teachers college now conducts summer workshops; at

times entire school faculties come to a university workshop to plan
a revision of the educational program for their community, or
smaller groups join with each other to make up a workshop for
such study.

Recognition of teacher responsibility for the general planning of
the school program on the basis of a realistic facing of the implica-
tions of the democratic process in relation to the nature of learning
leads to another logical phase of the problem. Responsibility for the
development of an educational program inevitably involves a con-
sideration of means by which the program can be made effective.
It would be unrealistic for the teacher to participate in, and accept
responsibility for, a program of education without considering how
such a program is to be implemented. It is the logic of this position
that has given the teacher the right to participate in the larger ad-
ministrative functions of the school. The unitary nature of the
modern conception of the school task is here again made evident.

If the organization of the school is limited in vital ways that
would suggest a modification of the ideal program, to what extent
should the teacher be responsible for determining the organization
that is possible? Sometimes, for example, the educational programs
coveted as the ideal require freedom from restrictions imposed by
laws or regulations of state Departments of Education. Frequently
they involve simply a matter of change of policy for the local ad-
ministration. Another problem is the adequacy of the physical
facilities of plant, equipment, and supplies for the implementation
of a desirable program. The teacher cannot discharge his responsi-
bilities adequately unless he can plan cooperatively with the ad-
ministrative staff on these important matters. For principals and
teachers to be able to plan simultaneously the educational program
and the possible means of its effective implementation is essential to
the success of any modern school program. Moreover, at the sec-
ondary level many of the teachers have equal, even superior, pro-
fessional preparation to that of the superintendents, principals, and
supervisors with whom they work. The tendency toward differen-
tiation of professional preparation makes the sharing of responsibil-
ity desirable, and adds to the *esprit de corps* of the group as well.

In a recent summer workshop conducted for several school
groups, the value of teacher-administrator cooperation in planning
how to implement the school program was fully demonstrated. Dur-

ing the preceding year much planning of a new educational program for the school had taken place. A certain amount of confusion and even irritation had arisen at times when the group had been informed by the superintendent that phases of the program proposed appeared to be impractical in that school system. With the superintendent and all the administrative personnel sitting around tables or in small informal groups with teachers, these problems took on a new significance. The administration, after the full implications of the plans had been clarified, found it possible, with the teachers, to explore feasible ways in which school organization and school facilities might be adjusted to permit the proposed changes in the educational program. Where there were obstacles that appeared insurmountable legally, financially, or in terms of physical facilities, these were made clear to the teachers. Some teachers suggested ways in which apparent obstacles could be removed by making moderate modifications in the existing school organization and facilities. This six-week experience gave the teachers a better understanding of the administrative problems of the school and caused them to think of their administrative leaders as valuable partners. The administration, on the other hand, saw the teachers as eager, competent, professional workers who could help solve the baffling administrative problems that stood in the way of a worth-while educational program.

A fourth responsibility of the teacher in the development of the school program is an approach to the program in cooperation with the parents and other citizens of the community. It has been emphasized again and again in this book that modern education cannot function satisfactorily without the full cooperation of the parents and the community. They must understand clearly what the educational program of the school is all about and actively work for its realization. To do this, they must have had a part in formulating that program. Heretofore, whatever recognition was given to this problem, it was assumed to be an administrative responsibility. Now it is realized that the very nature of the teacher's place in modern education makes him an important agent of the school in establishing school-community relationships. As teachers and members of the community cooperate in educational planning, they get to understand each other's problems in the education of youth. They are better able to set up learning situations both in school and out that

will produce the desired educational impact upon the learner. Since the teachers come into most direct contact with the pupil outside of the community itself, these two groups carry the major responsibility for developing the most effective program of education for youth.

Should the adolescent himself be asked to accept some responsibility in the planning of his education?

A generation ago this question would have been regarded as heretical in educational circles. When experts were supposed to have almost exclusive responsibility for planning what youth should study, the pupil was expected to accept what was offered, taking its value for granted without any clear perception of its relation to his ultimate goals. Today education is considered to be valuable, or even be possible, only in so far as the youth sees his activities as related to well-defined goals that he understands and accepts as his own. John Dewey has repeatedly emphasized that learning can take place only in relation to goals clearly perceived and desired, and this point of view is now commonly accepted by educational authorities. One educational psychologist has defined learning as "activity under tension toward a goal." Another writer has given a more elaborate definition of learning:

Learning may be defined as the progressive change in behavior which is associated, on the one hand, with successive presentations of a situation, and on the other, with repeated efforts of the individual to react to it effectively. Learning may also be thought of as the acquisition of ways of satisfying motives or of attaining objects.[18]

In another connection this writer asserts that "Learning cannot be successful or efficient without persistent, selective, and purposeful effort." [11] The concept of "purposiveness" in learning is accepted in modern education as fundamental. Practically applied, this means that the school program *must* be so set up that youth will see his cherished purposes clearly as goals in the program. It means also that he must see in the day-by-day processes a definite relationship between these processes and the goals he would seek.

18 From Arthur I. Gates, *et al.*, *Educational Psychology*, p. 209. New York. Copyright, 1942 by The Macmillan Company, and used with their permission.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 317. See also 1948 Revised Edition, pp. 288–289, for a similar discussion of learning.

This does not mean that the school program must await the discovery of youth's goals before it can be planned. School personnel, particularly teachers, have a responsibility to help youths interpret their basic desires in terms of purposes that, in the longer perspective, are more desirable than the immediate, often transitory, goals they set for themselves. They must be helped to identify themselves with their culture, and to see that their own basic needs and desires are best realized in terms of long-range goals.

Like the teacher, or any other member of the school staff, the pupil cannot see his goals clearly or identify elements of the school program as truly contributory to his goals unless he has had a part in planning the educational program. There are larger aspects of the program of the school that may not directly concern him. His responsibility in program development may be limited mainly to those aspects of the total program that vitally affect his own purposes. Nonetheless, he should be able to see and relate his goals as part of the larger school program.

The part a youth should have in planning his education is dependent also on the fundamental relationship between the educational process and the kind of behavior patterns necessary for effective living in a democratic society. Democracy, as has been pointed out previously, requires behavior competencies that are different from those demanded in most contemporary cultures. The American citizen must be so educated that he can measure up to the full stature of the responsibilities placed upon him in those words of Abraham Lincoln—government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Such a citizen must have developed abilities to think, to make logical decisions, and to carry out those decisions efficiently. This means facility in group action where goals of the group must be set, plans made for their achievement, and the plans carried out. In other words, the youth must have those experiences in the school environment that will develop in him those behavior competencies necessary for his successful functioning in democratic living. As Moehlman has so well observed:

If children and adults are trained and encouraged to develop in democratic competency, the practice of democracy must be a part of institutional routine. Democracy can be successfully taught not by imposition on a mandatory basis from above, but rather through the stimulation of reflective thinking by the agency which is attempting to make demo-

cratic purposes successful. . . . Democratic organization must provide for freedom of the individual in accord with the individual's capacity to perform within the pattern of rules essential to operation.[12]

Democratic education cannot take place, then, unless the student accepts some measure of responsibility for the school program. It is not sufficient to assign him tasks about the school; he must understand the need for these tasks in terms of his goals and, further, must see his participation in the realization of these goals as desirable and necessary. He must accept these responsibilities freely, even eagerly. The widely used device of student participation in government has often failed and fallen into disrepute because school administrations have *assigned* this role to the students. Usually, under these circumstances responsibility for disciplinary policing has been the principal task handed over to the student body. Student participation in, and responsibility for, the community life of the school is a highly effective means of developing students' skills in cooperative democratic living. Today schools are bringing youths into the very heart of the cooperative planning of the school program.

At the opening of school in September a faculty that had grappled with the program of the school for six weeks in a university-conducted workshop that summer decided to put the modern principles of democratic education to a real test. Youth in that community for years had had a vital part in the life of the school; thus, they had some measure of experience in democratic living. It was decided by the faculty that the high school student body on the opening day of school should be informed of the summer efforts of the faculty to estimate what kind of educational program would contribute most to the youth of that community. The pupils were invited to spend some time with the faculty and in groups by themselves thinking over what the school should do the coming year. These youths were faced with such questions as: "What goals have you set for yourselves in life?" "What do you think society has a right to expect of you?" "What do you think is the responsibility of the school toward our democratic society and toward you?" "What responsibilities do you consider you have to

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[12] Arthur B. Moehlman. *School Administration.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, pp. 258-259.

the school?" "How do you think the school can help you attain your goals?" "What suggestions can you offer for the program of the school for the year?" A full week was devoted to a consideration of such fundamental questions. It was democracy in action at a very high level. The faculty was enthusiastic about the response of the students. It created a sense of unity and excellent rapport throughout the school. The democratic educational processes loosed at the beginning of the school were continued through the year.

The importance as well as the ability of youth's acceptance of responsibility in planning the program is revealed in the experience of a teacher of English. Boys with assumed low mentalities, a so-called "terminal education group," was enrolled in a traditional course in rhetoric. The class was bored with a course largely devoted to the study of abstract grammatical rules that meant little to them. They did not see any relationship between what they were studying and their anticipated vocations. The teacher, convinced of the value of her subject, was pained at the obvious lack of interest in the class. Finally, in desperation, the teacher put the matter squarely up to the class. She recognized frankly their lack of interest and sought their cooperation in making the course serve their needs. The boys pointed out that in their anticipated jobs as foremen they would need to give clear and concise instructions orally and in writing to workers under them, and they would be expected to explain clearly the operation and parts of machinery being used. They did not think the course was teaching them anything useful along these lines. A committee was appointed to work out suggestions for class activities that the students thought would give them the desired preparation. When the report of the committee was handed to the teacher, activities were planned for every day of the remainder of the year. The boys' plan involved practice before the class giving instructions and descriptions orally, and in turn being criticized and corrected by the class and teacher. Exercises in written instructions and descriptions of the operation or parts of machinery were included. Panel discussions and debates on problems the boys knew would arise in this vocation were suggested. The teacher reported that with changes, cooperatively agreed upon, the course was so taught the rest of the year. From indifferent students the boys became aroused, thoroughly interested, and eagerly participating in the class activities. This was a

revelation to the teacher: it revealed what could happen when students saw definite functional connection between their goals and the processes involved in the educational program. She came to have a profound respect for the ability of the group to think critically, to plan, and to evaluate intelligently what they were doing. She also discovered they knew much more about functional communication techniques than their study of formal grammar had revealed.

How much responsibility for the secondary school program should national, regional, or institutional education agencies assume?

The extent to which educational groups without legal status should assume responsibility for the secondary school program has long been a debated question. That these various agencies have exercised tremendous influence upon the secondary school at times cannot be doubted. Among the groups of national scope that have influenced education by the sheer force of their prestige is the National Education Association. Since 1893, when the Committee of Ten made its historic report, the program of the secondary school has been profoundly affected by N.E.A. statements concerning secondary education. As pointed out in considerable detail earlier in this book, the Committee of Ten by its recommendations virtually paralyzed the development of secondary education along democratic lines for over a quarter of a century. Our secondary school program still reflects much of that baneful influence. The report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, made in 1918, by its tremendous influence has gone far to overcome the unfortunate effects of the 1893 pronouncements. The recent attempt on the part of the N.E.A., through the Educational Policies Commission, to influence the program of the secondary school is further evidence of its power. *Learning the Ways of Democracy* and *Education for All American Youth*, two of the principal publications of the Educational Policies Commission, have exerted a tremendous influence on the contemporary secondary school program. This influence has been as beneficient for secondary education as it has been great. Without doubt the N.E.A., through all its affiliated national and state educational organizations, will continue to exert a tremendous influence on education in gen-

eral and secondary education in particular. Many educators believe that the N.E.A. should become even more powerful as the official but nonlegal spokesman for the teaching profession.

There are other educational organizations that have assumed a large measure of responsibility for the secondary school as research or inspirational stimulus agencies. The National Council on Education, for example, set up the National Youth Commission in the middle 1930's *to study the educational problems of youth*. The Progressive Education Association promoted vanguard thinking in education and sponsored the Eight-Year Study in secondary education. The American Educational Research Association has devoted its efforts to research problems at all levels of education The National Congress of Parents and Teachers has tried to bring the school and the community together to make a cooperative study of school betterment. The activities of these organizations have been of real value to the schools. Every encouragement should be offered them to continue their contributions to educational knowledge and practice.

Among the extralegal agencies that attempt a semilegislative relationship to the secondary school program are the area associations of colleges and secondary schools, of which the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is probably the *most powerful. These associations have set up accrediting standards* for both the colleges and the secondary schools. Secondary schools *that do not meet these standards find their graduates at a disadvantage* if they wish to attend a college or university which is a member of the associations. In recent years much criticism has been made of the influence these organizations have exerted over the programs of the secondary school. When the standards of these associations are forward-looking and represent helpful and progressive thinking, the exercise of such influence serves as a stimulus to better education. Quite possibly, however, standards that were in vanguard of educational thinking when they were set up may become crystallized and serve as deterrents. The North Central Association has just emerged from such an unfortunate situation. Long after some of its standards had become obsolescent in modern educational thinking, many secondary schools were still handicapped by them.

Such agencies, on the whole, have been valuable spurs to a better

quality of secondary education. To the extent to which they keep abreast or ahead of current educational theory and to the extent the colleges do not foist on the secondary school programs the ancient chains of college entrance emphasis, these organizations may continue to render a real service to the secondary schools. As secondary education moves its program further from the orbit of the college to serve the non-college-bound youth, there may be a question of the exaggerated importance the colleges now have in such organizations as the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The historic conditions that gave rise to their creation have largely faded from the contemporary picture. The state universities used to exert great influence over secondary schools through accreditation standards devised by the institutions themselves. Some state universities still assume this responsibility; but the activities of the regional associations of which they are a part, such as the North Central Association, have largely substituted for separate institutional accreditation. Too, as the secondary school program is designed increasingly to serve primarily the 75 per cent who do not go on to college, the assumption of such responsibility by state universities is open to question.

Questions and Problems

1. Work out a committee report for your class on Henry Barnard's thirty years of work to get the U.S. Office of Education established. How many Commissioners of Education have there been? Who is the present Commissioner? To what extent, if any, is his tenure dependent upon political changes?

2. In your own state what percentage of the total cost of elementary and secondary education is contributed by the state? Compare your figures with those of other states.

3. How well does your state make financial provision for the equalization of educational costs? Make a case for or against federal aid to your state.

4. What is the name of the land grant college in your state? Is it part of, or separate from, your state university? Compare, for instance, California, Kansas, Minnesota, and New York.

5. Study and compare the compulsory attendance laws of your own state with those of other states. What exceptions are there? Is child labor permitted in spite of laws? Are the laws generally adequate?

6. What did the Civilian Conservation Corps accomplish in your state? Could it have functioned as well or better as part of the public

school organization? Should the federal government set up separate agencies of an educational nature in times of economic crisis?

7. From first-hand knowledge list the service-to-community activities of one or more high schools. Are these activities educationally worth while or "fads and frills"? Does their number increase or decrease in time of war? Discuss their values for either the pupil or the community.

8. What is the present status of publicly owned school lands in your state? Have they been sold or are they producing revenue for schools? What use is made of any income from your own state school lands?

9. List the various bodies or authorities have general direction over elementary, secondary, vocational, teacher, and higher education in your state. What about schools for the handicapped, such as the blind and the deaf?

10. How does a teacher get a license to teach in your state? What qualifications and procedures are involved? How may a teacher lose his license to teach? Who has the final authority?

11. Prepare arguments for a class discussion on the establishment of a Department of Education with the secretary or head a member of *the President's Cabinet.*

12. Mention communities with which you are familiar where parents, teachers, and pupils participate in the formation of school policy and in the determination of the curriculum program.

13. List several criteria by which you could determine whether the citizens of a community were interested in and willing to support the school program.

14. Look over the curriculum bulletins issued by the Department of Education in your state. Are they general guides for the teacher or minutely detailed plan books? *Compare* a modern bulletin with one of the older type.

15. Analyze the skills you will need as a teacher to be able to participate effectively in policy formation and determination of the curriculum program. Are you lacking any of the skills of group work? How do you propose to become proficient in the skills needed for cooperative democratic living?

16. Interview several parents and get their ideas on what the school program should be.

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CHAPTER XI

How May Such a Program of Secondary Education Be Effectively Organized?

How can one organize the program on an area, state, and national basis?

How on an area basis? The discussion of federal and state responsibility for the program of secondary education has suggested the basic problem of the organization of secondary education above the local community level. The nature of secondary education, especially if the thirteenth and fourteenth grades are added to the traditional secondary school program, makes it highly impractical for every small community to maintain a complete secondary education program. Very small enrollments for many of the vocational courses would make it financially impractical to offer the variety of courses necessary to meet the educational needs of the youths enrolled.

Getting a large enough unit enrollment to make a sufficient variety of courses economically feasible has always been a problem in the smaller communities, even when the stress was upon the more traditional large academic curriculum. Even if the old district system elementary schools of one or two rooms were maintained, the secondary school would need a larger base. Some states, for example, developed permissive legislation that encouraged a number of *communities to block out an independent high school district with a sufficiently large potential secondary school enrollment to support at least an academic curriculum.* The increasing problem of handling large numbers who will not go on to colleges or professional schools, the increased holding power of the secondary

343

school, the extension of secondary education to include the thirteenth and fourteenth grades, the frank recognition of the need for a more functional type of education for those who terminate their formal education with the secondary school have all given impetus to the organization of the secondary school on a still larger geographical-population base.

The future organizational pattern of the secondary school, whether it develops on the present 3-3-2 pattern or on the 4-4 basis, clearly points to a large-area organizational pattern for the upper division of the secondary school. The 4-4 organizational form would seem to provide the best basis for local and area schools. In any event, the upper division of the entire secondary school will emphasize vocational, and to some extent preprofessional, preparation. The offerings should be sufficiently varied to provide a reasonable breadth of vocational choice to meet the major needs of the students of the area. As has been so well pointed out in *Education for All American Youth*, preparation for certain vocations may be considered a legitimate obligation of the secondary school, but, because of a limited demand for it, such training could not with economic justification be offered in every area school. The programs of the several area schools should be so planned that preparation for certain vocations that employ large numbers of people will be made available in almost all schools. On the other hand, vocations that employ fewer people but are of acknowledged importance to the civic welfare should be parceled out among the area schools of the state in such a way as to give a qualified student the opportunity to prepare for the vocation of his choice.[1]

The area districts should be organized on a functional basis so that the school will serve all parts of the area. Where a geographical area is predominantly urban in character and industrial, business, and distributive occupations await the graduates of the upper regional school, the regional district, as far as possible, should be organized to serve the interests of these groups. The same principle should apply to those areas where agriculture is the main interest, with allowances for some of the business and distributive occupa-

[1] See the plan for area community institutes to meet this problem suggested in Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*, Chaps. V–IX. Washington: National Education Association, 1952.

tions in the villages or small incorporated urban towns in these areas.

Area schools should be organized also in some over-all relation to one another. They should be so distributed throughout the state as to provide approximately the same accessibility to an area school for all youths. It is recognized, however, that concentration of population in some sections of the state may make some area districts geographically smaller than others in order to serve approximately the same school populations.

Transportation facilities should be made available to students who could not otherwise attend school conveniently. Where the distance may be so great, as may happen in sparsely settled areas, as to make transportation impractical, either a subsistence allowance to permit residence near the school or dormitories to house these students should be provided. Where it is necessary for students to attend schools in areas outside their own, full provision for subsistence and transportation should be made. Tuition should be free for all students within the area districts as well as for those students who need to attend a distant school for vocational training in a limited vocation.

The financial organization of the several area schools should equalize the burden of all citizens the burden of supporting the schools' basic program. At the same time, more alert communities should be free to improve their facilities as long as they are willing to put forth the extra financial effort. The cost of maintenance of such an area program should be carefully estimated. A reasonable tax levy should be determined to support all or part of this program. Each regional community should carry the same minimum tax burden. The poorer districts should expect that deficiencies in the amount of revenue from local school taxes will be made up from state aids or from federal assistance available to the state for the specific purpose of equalizing the costs of such a program.[2]

Consideration of the upper-level division of the secondary school

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[2] The student should read carefully the proposed means of financing such area schools as here suggested, found specifically in Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*. Washington: National Education Association, 1952, pp. 329-333. It will be observed that the proposals made above are essentially those outlined by the Educational Policies Commission.

in its regional and interregional setting should not lead to a neglect of a carefully related pattern of secondary education below this top level and closely integrated with the elementary school. This integration of the educational system at all levels has been considered at length in previous chapters. Whether the pattern of educational units follows the 6-3-3-2, or the 6-4-4, or the still more probable organizational pattern of the 4-4-4-4, the larger regional unit of organization is being emphasized in the unit reorganization now taking place.

How on a state basis? The success of the program of secondary education envisaged here, or of any similar program organized on the principle of equality of opportunity and of financial burden, requires a statewide basis of organization in at least four major particulars. First, the state Department of Education, of course in cooperation with area school authorities, must have the authority to locate area schools properly and to coordinate their activities. Statewide planning is essential if all parts of the state are to be included in a balanced program of area secondary education. Experience in those states where permissive legislation has allowed communities to carve out a high school district to meet minimum requirements of population and financial area support has given abundant proof of the inadequacy of such *laissez-faire* relationships between the state and its educational subdivisions. Such procedures not only have led to the most grotesque types of geographical districts, but have denied educational opportunity to small areas unlucky enough to fall outside the districts. Only a policy of state authority for planning and approval of regional school districts will make probable a unified coordinated program of secondary education for the state.

Second, to insure the kind of secondary education leaders of education now advocate, the state must have the power to set up general minimum standards for all schools in the state. This authority most states now exercise very cautiously through their state Departments of Education. Certification of teachers, attendance regulations, minimum length of school day and school year, and minimum curriculum offerings are among the matters now determined at the state level in most states. In the interests of democracy in education the largest freedom consistent with an over-all program of education for all youths of the state should be permitted

Vocational Education Boards within the several states. It has been suggested previously [3] that all federal responsibility for education should be channeled through the Office of Education, the logic of this suggestion would organize the secondary school program in its national aspects in the Office of Education. To provide the necessary finances to equalize educational opportunity between states, the federal government should make funds available to the Office of Education to be administered and apportioned to the several state Departments of Education. The Office of Education should be organized to conduct in its own right studies and research on problems of secondary education, and to sponsor cooperative studies and research on secondary school problems on a national scale involving states and their subdivisions. Some of the most vital information in the field of secondary education can be secured only by some agency organized on a national basis. The Office of Education is at present organized as a statistical clearing house for school data inclusive of important facts about secondary education. It provides consultative services of many kinds. All these functions should be enlarged under the organized division on secondary education of the Office of Education.

To what extent should the program be organized on the basis of large functional units?

In organizing our educational districts we have followed the geographical boundaries of our political units almost entirely. In cities, school district boundaries are generally coterminous with those of the municipality. In some states, as in Indiana, the political township unit has become the school unit. In several states, among them Oregon, larger county units of school organization have been proposed to eliminate the very small school districts. In most of our states the county, a nebulous enough political unit, has been used as an equally weak educational administrative unit, principally for supervising the one- or two-room district schools within the county.

These patterns of school district organization do not follow natural community boundary lines. Political units throughout most of the United States were determined by sectional block surveys. These divided the new territory into sections one mile square and

townships six miles square. A river might very effectively determine a natural community for people but the school district, following the political unit boundaries embracing territory on both sides of the river, would split natural communities for educational purposes. Often people located in a corner of a political and school township unit find their natural community interest in a village or urban center just across the township line, and their district school several miles in the opposite direction. Thus, the political and school unit created an artificial center for school purposes, but for all other purposes of socio-economic life the children were separated into other more natural community groupings.

The notable exception to this inflexible and often artificial form of school unit organization is to be found in the old colonial New England town. Since these New England towns arose out of the early settlements of the colonists, they followed functional patterns of geographical boundaries. A valley might become the area of a community settlement. Rivers and mountains or other natural physical geographical contours that determined the nature of the community settlement became the fixed boundaries for political and school activities. In size these towns compare roughly with our townships, though by the nature of their geographical boundary limitations they are irregular in form and vary in size.
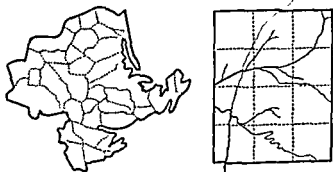
FIGURE IX. IRREGULAR SHAPED NEW ENGLAND COUNTY AND TOWNS COMPARED WITH UNIFORMLY SQUARE-SHAPED COUNTY AND TOWNSHIPS OF THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES

Modern education, with its emphasis upon active participation
in community life, needs a natural community situation in which
to fulfill its functions effectively. The modern school as a commu-
nity educational center for children and adults will be very greatly
handicapped in its educational program unless a natural community
exists. Fortunately, the emphasis upon larger and more natural
community units of school organization has led to a break with the
old political unit, at least in respect to the smaller districts. For
both elementary and secondary school purposes small districts have
been changed in reorganization plans that bring these smaller units
into the orbit of the villages or urban centers with which they are
naturally linked.

As yet it has been difficult for schools to break across county
political units because most states and their subdivisions have been
organized for financial purposes on a county basis. Where possible,
these traditional barriers of practice must be broken down to per-
mit more functional school unit organization. It will not be possi-
ble in all area school districts to attain the practical ideal. It is
often hard to determine the exact geographical boundaries of a
natural community. Besides, in our modern society, community
units are becoming geographically more fluid. Developments in
communication and transportation are rendering the geographical
boundaries and even the center of area communities relatively un-

In org. is only an approximation of the ideal that may be achieved.[4]
graphical and toward larger educational administrative units, units
school district natural functional needs of the community, is symp-
the municipality developments in school administrative organiza-
ship unit has become of secondary school organization assumes that
Oregon, larger counties will be ignored, except where the political
posed to eliminate the natural basis of the proposed area unit. In
states the county, a functional organizational units will be smaller
as an equally weak city unit; in most cases they will be larger.
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These divided the new of the problem of communities and their unstable
Community—The World in Miniature," in Elmer
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[3] See the discussion of th

tional breakdown of traditional state lines. Many communities now cross state lines. Metropolitan communities are developing under the impetus of improved communication and transportation facilities. Many of our educational conferences, institutes, and other gatherings now include adjoining states or regions with common interests and common problems. It is probable that in the future even state lines will be overcome to make education serve an interest beyond geographical state boundaries. Recently, in a school survey of an urban community, the question of establishing a junior college was considered. This small city is located on a river separating two states; across the bridge in the adjoining state is a small village with its economic and social interests oriented toward the city. This urban community favored the incorporation of the village in the adjoining state into the proposed junior college district. Under the impact of such thinking artificial state lines may eventually give way.

In 1931 the University of Chicago erected its Graduate School of Education. Twenty of the professors in the School of Education were asked to give their opinion on what they thought education in the United States would be like in a century—in 2031. One of the professors suggested that by 2031 our present system of state school organization would be replaced by metropolitan or regional units, twenty or less in number, into which both educational and political activities of the United States would be divided, supplanting the old state form of organization. Considering these opinions and changing conditions, educational workers may well contemplate some modification of state lines for educational purposes in the future.

How should the organization of the program recognize the interrelated needs of rural and urban populations?

The organization of the secondary education program to provide properly for the needs of rural and urban communities must be very flexible. The variety of problems involved at different stages in the secondary school program and in relation to the degree of rural or urban population served further complicates the problem.

In the 3-3-2 type of organization, a careful coordination of the programs of the last two units must be made, and the two-year

school must be located centrally to two or more senior high schools. Some degree of differentiation of program will be desirable, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth grades, to meet the needs of those who may terminate their formal education at the end of senior high school. For those who want vocational training in the last two years of the program, it is important that their courses be carefully integrated with the work to follow. In the 4-4 type of organization, the problems of coordination between the two units are important but not critical—especially when the two divisions are located in the immediate locality. It is generally conceded that the first four-year unit should be devoted primarily to problems of general education. Vocational training and other specific educational preparation belong to the second unit.

The concept of functional community schools implies that the students these schools serve shall have similar educational needs as far as possible. A secondary school in an essentially rural area should serve the needs of those who are likely to remain in that area after completing school. A school in an urban community would be expected to emphasize a program suited to the vocational needs and way of living of the community.

The task of developing a thoroughly functional secondary education program for rural areas is complicated by the fact that large numbers of rural youth move from the farms to villages and cities. Technological developments make it possible for the farmer to grow more and more farm products with less and less manual labor. On the other hand, industry in the urban areas is steadily expanding, and the need for labor in the production and service occupations grows apace. The paradox for secondary education arises out of the fact that the populations of the cities do not reproduce themselves sufficiently; they depend upon migrations to the city to refill the ranks of their diminishing populations. The populations of the rural areas, however, increase apace. This means that if the disproportionate birth rate between the country and the city continues, as seems probable, youth must be drained from the farms and the villages to find their places in the cities. *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*, as written by the Educational Policies Commission in 1952 estimated that approximately 46 out of every 100 youths from the farms and 33 out of every 100 youths from villages and rural towns must go to the cities if overpopulation

and congestion in rural areas is to be avoided. The secondary school program in the rural community, therefore, must reckon with this problem. Some plan must be devised to determine relatively early which youths are likely to stay on the farm and in the village and which are likely to enter technical or professional work or gravitate to the labor markets of the city. The latter may be encouraged to transfer to the city for the last segment of their education. A system of easy transfer from the rural community and area schools to the city should be developed.

Where the rural and the urban populations are approximately of the same size in an area community, adjustments in the matter of occupational courses will need to be made. The smaller urban center will not offer as many possible vocations as the big city; it may have little more than small businesses and distributive jobs. Under such circumstances farm and urban needs can be satisfactorily met. Youths who desire a special type of occupational education should be permitted to transfer to larger urban schools.

How should the administrative pattern of the secondary school be organized?

How should the administrative pattern of the secondary school be organized?

The administrative pattern of secondary education has undergone a slow evolution in the years since the academy was first established. The patterns of organization now found in the secondary schools of the United States have developed largely since the turn of the century. The typical 8-4 plan of public education—eight years devoted to the elementary school and four years to the secondary school—was the vogue at the beginning of this century. In Chapter IX the exceptions to this organizational pattern were discussed at some length. The junior high school, whose beginning as a three-year unit is generally located in the year 1910, changed the pattern of secondary education to two units of three years each above a six-year elementary school. Smaller secondary schools accepted the extra two years from the elementary school and became six-year schools. The idea that secondary education rightfully included the two years beyond the traditional high school, or new senior high school, developed rapidly after World War I. At first the junior college developed as a two-year institution, and this has been its predominant organizational pattern. Recent developments

in practice have witnessed a growing number of four-year junior colleges.

Educational theory seems to point to the eight-year secondary school divided into two equal divisions, or what is recognized as a 4-4 organizational pattern of secondary education, as the most desirable form of secondary school organization for the future. Modern educators frown upon too many segments in the total organization of the school. The elimination of breaks in the continuity of the educational program, except such breaks as make for appropriate groupings based on maturity levels of the children, is the present ideal. The final word on the future organizational pattern for the elementary and secondary periods has not been spoken. However, the school system of Pasadena, California (see Figure 10) appears to present an educationally sound pattern of future school unit organization. Whether this four-year institution will continue to go by the title of junior college or acquire another name is unimportant, although many think the term "junior" should not be attached to any division of the secondary school for psychological reasons. The addition of the thirteenth and fourteenth grades to the secondary school for the completion of the period of general education also brings up the administrative problem of whether or not to offer a degree at the conclusion of the fourteenth year. Some junior colleges and liberal arts divisions of universities now give a degree called Associate in Arts. The University of Chicago, under the leadership of its former Chancellor, Robert Hutchins, took the position that the A.B. degree traditionally represented the end of general education, and for a time offered the A.B. at the close of the fourteenth year. It appears most likely that the conferring of a degree at the completion of the last unit of secondary education will prevail in the future.

The former Superintendent of Schools of Pasadena and the principal of the Pasadena Junior College present a lengthy argument for the four-year junior college and incidentally suggest that the four-year high school, grade 7-10, makes an ideal grouping for the division of secondary education below the junior college. Three main advantages are presented for the four-year junior college: "First, the new American College, or the four-year junior college, is educationally the most efficient form of organization for the upper secondary school system." As elements of that efficiency,

they claim that this school, by its very scope, will be able to attract capable personnel; its extension will insure sufficient tax evaluation to secure the buildings and equipment necessary, a large enough student body to justify an adequate program, and a minimum duplication between the high school and the junior college. "Secondly, the four-year junior college is the most economical form of upper

age	grade	1890	1900	1910	1920 (1925)**	1930 (1928)***	1940	1948****
19	13				Combined Senior High School and Junior College	Junior College	Junior College	Junior College
18	13					Junior College	Junior College	Junior College
17	12	High School	High School	Senior High School		Junior College	Junior College	Junior College
16	11	High School	High School	Senior High School		Junior College	Junior College	Junior College
15	10	High School	High School	Senior High School		High School	High School	High School
14	9	High School	High School	Junior High School	Junior High School	High School	High School	High School
13	8	Elementary School	Elementary School	Junior High School	Junior High School	High School	High School	High School
12	7	Elementary School	Elementary School	Junior High School	Junior High School	High School	High School	High School
11	6	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School
10	5	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School
9	4	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School
8	3	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School
7	2	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Primary
6	1	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Primary
5	K	Kindergarten	Kindergarten	Kindergarten	Kindergarten	Kindergarten	Kindergarten	Primary
4	N							Primary
Organization 1890		8-4	K-8-4	K-6-3-3	K-6-3-5	K-6-4-4	K-6-4-4	4-4-4-4

FIGURE X. DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

*Dotted line between grades 9 and 10 indicates approximate organizational form at this time.

**In 1925 the 5 upper grades administered together and housed together.

***In 1928 the K-6-4-4 plan put into operation.

****In 1948 the K-6-4-4 plan still in use. The 4-4-4-4 plan in discussion stage only.

Note: Data above obtained in letter from Dr. John A. Sexson, Superintendent of Schools, Pasadena, under date March 2, 1945.

Because of administrative plans involving adjustment of the junior college to high school districts outside of the Pasadena regular school district, Pasadena, in 1934, gave up its historic four year school program and reverted to the traditional two year organization. It thus becomes a notable example of the power of traditional practices to discourage administrative pioneering. See the explanation for this change given by Superintendent Stuart E. McComb in "Why Pasadena Dropped the 6-4-4 Plan," The Nation's Schools. 54.60-61. November, 1954.

secondary school organization." One less building is needed than in the 3-3-2 organization. "Thirdly, the four-year junior college will provide an adequate length of course and a sufficient number of students to make possible efficient organization." The criticism offered against the lack of proper *esprit de corps* in short-term two-year colleges is overcome in doubling the length of school; a better program for terminal students is possible; and better guidance and classification of students is made possible in the four-year schools.[5]

Koos, in a study of three-year versus four-year junior high schools, found the evidence in favor of the four-year junior high school related to the four-year junior college to be "substantial and striking, and leave no room for doubt on the score of the validity of the reorganization. . . . The main conclusion is that the 6-4-4 plan is at once the most effective and the most economical means of bringing the full advantage of the junior high school and the junior college to the community."[6]

We have thus far considered only adolescent education within the probable limits of a future general compulsory system of public education. The secondary school also works with older adolescents who either have not completed the formal program of the school or, having completed what was available, seek additional educational assistance. Finally, there is a widespread demand for educational opportunities for adults. The large high school building, with its classrooms, library, auditorium, and shop equipment, is the logical center for these activities. In some cities the program has so developed that the school organization plans a continuous school day from eight or eight-thirty in the morning until ten o'clock at night. This makes possible a more flexible schedule for the regular secondary program and at the same time provides a maximum program for older out-of-school adolescents and the adults of the community. The organization of any program of secondary education that does not take into consideration the needs and growing demands for educational assistance of older youths and adults will not be fulfilling its obligations to our democratic society.

The length of the school year is another organizational problem.

[5] John A. Sexson and John W. Harbeson, *The New American College*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. 42–44.

[6] Leonard V. Koos, *Integrating High School and College*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, p. 187.

In an agrarian period of American life parents considered it necessary to have youths released from school for work on the farm during the busy summer months. For most youths today, however, the summer period away from school is wasted time at best—at worst, it may be time spent building up habits inimical to the behavior patterns the school is trying to develop through the remainder of the year. The old claim that youth needed the summer months to build up nervous energy for the strain of school life has no validity in modern educational practice. The nature of the secondary educational program carried on in rural communities makes possible a constructive cooperative farm program for youth that in part offsets the loss of this help to the farm. Moreover, the educational programs now sponsored by agricultural departments in rural secondary schools necessitate administrative supervision from the school on a twelve-month basis. High school instructors in agriculture are now regularly employed on a twelve-month basis. In those programs where work experience is emphasized, a serious problem has arisen with employers who are expected to make room for a certain number of students during a nine-month school year and fill the gaps during the summer when these school youths are no longer available. As secondary schools put modern theories of education into practice, the all-year school will become an educational and administrative necessity. School systems are now adopting the twelve-month school in increasing numbers. Unless a major depression or other unforeseen developments prevent it, this generation should see the all-year school a common practice.

If a closely knit program of secondary education is to be made possible, the unit divisions of the secondary school must be integrated. Inter-division committees of teachers and administrative personnel should be continuously active to insure an over-all awareness of the purposes and functioning of the whole pattern of secondary education and the part each division or unit plays in that pattern. The fullest degree of local flexibility consistent with an integrated pattern of secondary education from the seventh grade through the fourteenth should be encouraged *in each school unit.* The administrative organization of the local school, too, must become more completely democratized. The professional preparation of secondary school teachers has now reached a very high level. There has been a growing tendency to include some work in school

administration in the professional education of teachers, on the theory that the teacher can do his best work as a teacher only in so far as he is fully familiar with the total program of the school and actually shares in the administrative function. The gulf that existed between administrators and the secondary school teaching staff has been greatly lessened under the impact of the newer conceptions of education—witness the still hesitant practice of bringing teachers into administrative planning, and the still more hesitant practice of sharing administrative responsibilities with teachers. In some smaller secondary schools cooperative administration shared in by the entire faculty is being studied and tried out as a means of realizing a thoroughly democratic school.

How should the program be organized?

Whether ultimately the 4-4 or the 3-3-2 organization prevails, there seems little doubt that the secondary school's internal organization will undergo a profound change. Indeed, the state of flux in the present organizational pattern is but symptomatic of the change that is now in progress.

When the Committee of Ten in 1893 recommended that the seventh and eighth grades of the elementary school be made an integral part of secondary education, and that its program be structured after the pattern of the existing high school, with separate subjects, subject teachers, and class periods, it fastened upon the junior high school a program pattern from which it has never freed itself. Here and there there have been attempts to differentiate in program and organizational form between the lower and upper segments of the secondary school, but the typical junior high school has undergone little change from the structure originally imposed upon it.

At present there is much unrest with a program and administrative structure that many believe antiquated. At the annual meeting of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in Milwaukee in February, 1954, a commission was formed to consider reorientation and restructuring of the junior high school.

A consideration of the needs of pupils in this transition period from childhood into adolescence suggests a less abrupt change in the administrative framework of the school program at this time, as well as a re-evaluation of the curriculum for this period. Many

now advocate a modification of the school program to eliminate rigid subject patterns, drastically reduce if not abolish present class periods, and reduce to a minimum the number of teachers the child must contact each day. Many educators now suggest that the practice of one teacher to a group as generally found in the elementary school should be adopted in the junior high school. The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association has advocated eliminating all elective subjects in the junior high school, asserting that:

> Throughout the junior high school period, it was agreed, the educational needs of pupils are sufficiently alike to justify a common curriculum for all pupils with ample provision for differentiated treatment of pupils within classes to take account of diversities of interests, aptitudes, and abilities.[7]

Such changes in the organization of the program of the lower division of the secondary school would indicate the need of modifications in the program of the tenth or eleventh through the fourteenth grades. More gradualism in the differentiation of the program would seem necessary, and at the beginning of the upper division some approximation to the plan of the junior high school would seem desirable.

Questions and Problems

1. Prepare a map of an ideal school district in some section of your state. Consider such matters as transportation of pupils, state aids, assessed valuation, and location of secondary schools.
2. Study a map of the school districts in your state. Make suggestions for reorganizing districts to improve educational services.
3. What arguments can you advance, pro and con, on the 4-4 and 3-3-2 organizations of the secondary school?
4. Work out a committee report on Sexson and Harbeson's *The New American College*, and follow the report with class discussion.
5. Study the recommendations of the American Vocational Association on vocational training and discuss the recommendations in class.
6. Interview C.I.O. and A.F.L. leaders for their recommendations on

[7] See Educational Policies Commission, *Education For All American Youth: A Further Look*. Revised Edition. Washington: National Education Association, 1952, (p. 220). Since this problem is also discussed in connection with the organization of the core curriculum in Chapter XIII, the reader should study the suggested plan of curriculum organization outlined there for grades ten to fourteen.

vocational training. Do the same with parents, professional people, and business leaders.

7. Pool your own experience with that of the class in an attempt to discover local issues that have precipitated "school fights." Suggest ways and means of avoiding such situations.

8. What are some of the problems or issues that arise in the reorganization of smaller districts into a larger consolidated district?

9. How would the "community school" building differ from the conventional buildings now common throughout the United States?

10. Present to the class a panel discussion on some problem facing the secondary teacher when the schools institute the twelve-month year.

11. Describe as specifically as you can the differences between an "authoritarian" and a "democratic" school administration.

12. Have a panel discussion of the merits of the recommendation found in *Education for All American Youth* that a common curriculum be given to all at the junior high school level.

13. What reasons could you advance to support the author's position that gradualism should characterize change in the program from grades ten or eleven to grade fourteen?

14. Discuss whether one teacher for one group for the entire day, as practiced in the elementary school, should also be the practice of the junior high school.

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CHAPTER XII

What Is the Curriculum Problem?

The difficulty of keeping youth in the secondary school has been attributed mostly to the faults of the curriculum. Familiar are such criticisms as: the curriculum is too difficult; it is not practical; it is designed principally for those who wish to prepare for college; it is not organized to challenge the interest of youth.[1]

What is the nature of the traditional curriculum?

What have been the traditional curriculum concepts? The use of the term *curriculum* above has followed the older accepted connotations of the word. To an older generation the curriculum would simply mean all the subjects studied or offered in school. Popularly, the curriculum has been thought of as those compendiums of information and skills which the school has made available for study. In antiquity our word was derived from the Latin word *curriculum*, which means literally "a race course." It came to mean whatever was offered in the school to be learned. As a result, Western civilization has come to think of the school curriculum as a collection of subject matter that the pupil is to study in some order of sequence toward some general goal, though such goal may be vague or poorly defined.

In its evolution our conception of the curriculum has taken on particular meanings that the teacher should understand clearly if he is to bridge the gap between the older ideas associated with the curriculum and the newer ones rapidly coming into acceptance. From ancient times education has been thought of as the acquisi-

[1] See Chapter I for a more detailed discussion of the criticisms currently made of the curriculum.

usually found, often in variant forms, in the average four-year high school.

The single-curriculum school presents subjects that all high school students are expected to study. These subjects are likely to be grouped around the traditional subject fields of English, mathematics, social studies, and science. More recently physical education and health have been added to the required curriculum as a combined field, often by legal requirement of the state. Although the minimum and maximum number of courses required by individual schools varies, work in all these fields is required. Beyond this pre-

TABLE 22

TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF SUBJECT MATTER CURRICULUM IN FOUR-YEAR HIGH SCHOOL SHOWING REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE SUBJECTS

GRADE 9	GRADE 10	GRADE 11	GRADE 12
Required:	*Required:*	*Required:*	*Required:*
Health and Physical Education	Health and Physical Education	Health and Physical Education	Health and Physical Education
English I	English II	English III	English IV
General Science	World History	United States History	Social Problems
Algebra	Biology		
Social Studies			
Electives:	*Electives:*	*Electives:*	*Electives:*
One	Two	Three	Three
Latin I or	Plane Geometry	Solid Geometry	Trigonometry
French I or	Latin I or II	Latin II or III	French III or IV
Spanish I	Spanish I or II	French II or III	Spanish III or IV
Art	French II or III	Spanish II or III	Bookkeeping II
Music	Physics	Stenography I	Stenography II
	Chemistry	Typewriting I	Typewriting II
	Industrial Arts I	Bookkeeping I	Commercial Law
	Home Economics I	Physics	Chemistry
	Art	Chemistry	Physics
	Music	Home Economics I or II	Home Economics II or III
		Industrial Arts I or II	Industrial Arts II or III
		Art	Art
		Music	Music

scribed central pattern of subjects that all must take, a number of other subjects such as art, music, home economics, industrial arts, and agriculture may be offered as electives. The extent of these electives may depend on the size of the school staff, facilities, and budgets. The smaller the school, the more limited the elective privileges of the student will be.

The *multiple curriculum* is the other type that has been accepted in our larger secondary schools. This curriculum is in reality several curriculum patterns; each pattern may be pursued by different students in conformity with their major interests. A school with such

TABLE 23

TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF A MULTIPLE CURRICULUM

Grade	College Preparatory	General	Commercial
9	Health and Physical Education English I General Science General Mathematics Social Studies Elective—1	Health and Physical Education English I General Science General Mathematics Social Studies Elective—1	Health and Physical Education English I General Science General Mathematics Social Studies Typing I
10	Health and Physical Education English II Algebra Biology World History Elective—1	Health and Physical Education English II Biology World History Electives—2	Health and Physical Education English II World History Typing II Bookkeeping I Elective—1
11	Health and Physical Education English III United States History Geometry Language Elective—1	Health and Physical Education English III United States History Electives—3	Health and Physical Education English III Bookkeeping II Stenography I Electives—2
12	English IV Social Problems Language II Electives—3	English IV Social Problems Electives—4	Commercial English Stenography II *Office Practice (1 sem.)* Commercial Law (1 sem.) Electives—3

a curriculum may have, for example, (a) a classical curriculum, (b) a science curriculum, (c) a commercial curriculum, (d) an industrial arts curriculum. It is not uncommon for very large schools to have six to ten, or even more, distinct curriculums. Possibly the most commonly found number for medium-sized schools is three curriculums: (a) college preparatory, (b) general, and (c) commercial or industrial. This does not mean that there are no two subjects the same in the different curriculums. English, for example, will be found in each curriculum although the amount, the content, and the methods of teaching it may vary. Whereas the single curriculum permits the pupil to follow any interest he may wish after he has satisfied the basic required courses, the multiple curriculum represents closed patterns that are presumed to fulfill definite purposes. The student who elects a given curriculum is expected to complete the courses that particular pattern designates.

What problems are involved in the traditional curriculum? A major problem that has increasingly plagued the traditional curriculum worker has been what to teach. Primitive man had little difficulty about what to teach his children. Life was very much circumscribed; there was only a limited amount of rudimentary knowledge and understanding necessary or available for youth to possess in order to assume his place in the life of the group, and the skills needed for him to become self-supporting were relatively simple and few in number.

GROWTH OF KNOWLEDGE: [2] All this has changed. The facts of life with which the adult *must* be familiar have become far more numerous, and the facts he *could* learn are infinite in number. A radio speaker recently asserted that more facts had been added to the sum total of the world's knowledge within the past ten years than it would be possible for one person to master within a lifetime.

In the old Dame School children were subjected to the simple mechanics of reading and writing, with the Bible as the chief textbook. Later it became a feature attraction when a schoolmaster could advertise his ability to teach simple arithmetic in addition to the two R's. Today at least 15 subjects make up the base of the

[2] See Chapter IV for an extended discussion of this aspect of the problem.

elementary school curriculum, and many other fringe subjects are offered.

This same expansion of curricular offerings is even more evident at the secondary and college levels. Before 1910 the secondary school added new subjects to its curriculum very cautiously and with great reluctance. During the second and third decade of this century, however, the floodgates opened and the secondary school curriculum began a phenomenal expansion. By 1920 there were available to the students in one large city 29 different programs of study; 15 of these were four year curriculums and 14 were two years in length. In all it was estimated these curriculums involved between 450 and 500 different courses.

The curriculums of such well known universities as Harvard and Yale were one hundred years ago were not as extensive as those of the larger secondary schools of cities of 25,000-50,000 population today. A study made in the second decade of this century of one of our largest universities revealed that a student carrying a normal college load would require 110 years to complete the courses then available. A similar study made more recently of another large university points up the rapid curricular expansion of higher educational institutions: a student would need 504 years to complete every course listed by this university.

Teachers of English have been wont to call the attention of their students to the extensive vocabulary used in Shakespearian plays; it is claimed that Shakespeare used over 15,000 different words. The state papers of Woodrow Wilson contain over 25,000 words used, and educated men of affairs are said to use a vocabulary of upwards of 50,000 words. A study reported in 1941 by the late Robert Seashore of Northwestern University showed that the average college student knew 60,000 common words, 1,500 technical words, and 95,000 derived words. A similar study made by M. J. Van Wagenen of the University of Minnesota found that the vocabulary knowledge revealed in the Seashore study for college students holds true as well for high school students.

It is little wonder that many businessmen complain that high school graduates cannot spell the working vocabulary of business. It is obvious that their vocabulary is so big as to obviate any reasonable expectancy of perfect spelling. Those familiar with the research studies made in the earlier part of this century that became

the basis of the famous Jones' Speller and the Horn and Thorndike 5,000-word spelling lists, can appreciate how hard it is to approach the problem of spelling on a word-list basis in today's school curriculum.

The fact of expanding knowledge could be amplified at great length, but the above is sufficient to highlight one of the major problems involved in the traditional conception of learning and the curriculum. The cultural heritage has long since become too extensive to pass on in toto. The factor of time and the sheer inability of the mind to encompass all knowledge (let alone the question of the desirability of doing so if it were possible) has forced traditional curriculum workers to grapple with the problem of what to select from the vast total of knowledge available to teach.

The period from 1920 to 1935 probably stands out as the time of the most feverish effort by curriculum researchers to answer the question propounded by Herbert Spencer one hundred years ago in his memorable essay "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth." The quantity of research done during this period to determine "what to teach" and "how much" was monumental; the results were negligible. As might be expected more was achieved at the elementary level, where some quantitative contributions were made. Little of value to the secondary school came of these studies, largely because problems of the secondary curriculum particularly cannot be solved on the quantitative basis characteristic of the traditional curriculum concepts. Consequently, at no previous period in our American school history has traditional curriculum thinking been in a greater state of uncertainty and our secondary school curriculum been in a condition of greater confusion.

COMPLEXITY OF KNOWLEDGE: The consideration of the quantitative aspects of the curriculum is not the only source of present curriculum difficulties. There are complexities in subject areas of the curriculum that were undreamed of until recent years. When the writer took the final state examinations in reading for purposes of graduation from elementary school, the examiner simply handed the candidate a book open at a certain page and asked that he read. Three or four paragraphs were read aloud, the book was then closed by the examiner. He passed the test with 100 per cent grade. But what did the examiner find out about the candidate's ability to read? Clearly the candidate knew how to follow the word

order on the printed page, he could pronounce correctly the words read; but on the crucial issue of whether there was understanding of what had been read no questions were asked. Whether the candidate knew the significance of a topic sentence to the paragraph, could pick out and relate key words and ideas, and could follow the chain of thought of the writer remained unanswered. Equally unanswered were such questions as whether the candidate could analyze a book for important information, use reference material properly, and locate source materials in the library and elsewhere, to mention but a few of the many important aspects of reading ability a modern examiner would regard as essential in determining reading competency.

CONFUSION IN CURRICULAR OFFERINGS: The wide range of knowledge available and its complex nature have created further problems for a stratified curriculum. Since it is now impossible to attempt to teach everything, and since there is almost no agreement on the minimal essentials of subject matter that should be offered in the subject-centered curriculum, curriculum chaos has resulted.

No two schools offer identical curriculums. It was such a situation as this that led an anxious parent on a recent TV program to ask why a certain high school was no longer offering Shakespeare. Even where different schools offer the same subject titles, the content of these courses is likely to vary widely. It has been asserted frequently that to change the textbook of a course, even within the same school, may literally involve teaching a completely new content. With no general or nationwide agreements specifying the content of a curriculum subject, the actual content taught may depend largely upon what the teacher in charge of the course fancies or what the author of the textbook emphasizes. It is this fact that led several realistic school administrators filling out a questionnaire on curriculum practices to reply "yes" to the question "Has your school engaged in recent changes in the curriculum?" To the further question "how were changes effected in the curriculum?" these administrators answered either "By changing teachers" or "By changing textbooks."

Again, the complexities that are now recognized in subject areas have led to variation in course content and emphasis. To refer to *the problem of reading complexities* mentioned above may illustrate this point. If the teacher of reading interprets the activity

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narrowly, she may devote the course exclusively to improving the mechanics of reading—i.e., to developing speed. If, on the other hand, she looks upon reading as a function of getting at facts and understanding, she may teach reading as a technique of getting ideas from the printed page, or she may emphasize the use of reference works, card catalogues in the library, and other community and governmental sources.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES AND THE CURRICULUM: Uniformity characterized the older forms of the curriculum. The rigid standardization of the curriculum outlined in the recommendations of the now famous Committee of Ten, "that every subject which is taught at all in the secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil," clearly illustrates the old lockstep conception of curriculum organization.

After 1910 the accumulating evidence on the subject of individual differences began to be published and widely disseminated among educators. As research into the nature of individual differences continued, new facts brought out the very complex aspects of individual differences as these related to the learning process. It became obvious that the old rigidity of the curriculum could no longer be justified. To meet individual differences required great flexibility of the school curriculum.

It has now become common knowledge that no two individuals are alike in abilities or experience background; and it is only logical to expect that the gap in attainments between individuals will become greater as they progress through the school. Through the use of standardized tests it is customary to find that a class of sixth graders will show class variations from third grade attainment in compositional skills for some to tenth grade attainment for others, with the rest of the class members found at various levels of attainment in between the two extremes. Such variations hold true for all subjects of the curriculum and in greater or lesser degree for all schools and all classes.

Individual differences are further accentuated by wide variation in interests, emotional responses, environmental backgrounds, community setting, economic-cultural levels of the home, educational opportunities, travel, and a host of other factors that make each individual a unique personality. The present stress on individual differences challenges the older idea of a uniformly set curriculum.

SOCIAL CHANGE: In Chapter VI the problems youth must face due to the profound nature of social change are discussed in considerable detail. It should be clear how these changes affect the curriculum.

How has subject curriculum been modified?

WHAT CHANGES IN SUBJECT EMPHASIS? For more than a generation the curriculum has been in a state of flux, largely as a result of the factors outlined in the previous section. A study reported in 1926 of the previous five-year period showed that within 90 schools investigated 471 changes in the subject curriculum had been made, by either adding new subjects or dropping old ones. In the Social Studies division 71 courses were added and 19 dropped; in Commercial subjects 64 courses were added and 15 dropped; in the Natural Sciences 37 courses were added and 29 dropped; in English 21 courses were added and none dropped; in the Ancient Languages only one course was added and 11 were dropped; and in Modern Language 22 courses were added and 37 dropped. In five years in fourteen subject divisions in 90 schools, 341 courses were added to the curriculum and 130 courses dropped.[3]

This report is interesting not alone for the picture of curricular unrest that it reveals but also because it mirrors a pattern of curriculum change that has continued. There has been and is the tendency to add new subjects rather than to drop old ones. At the time of this study commercial subjects were a rapidly developing new field, whereas foreign languages, especially ancient languages, were falling by the wayside. The fluctuations in the social sciences and in the natural sciences reflect the reorganization of course titles and content taking place within certain subject fields.

The periodic reports of the Office of Education indicate that these major lines of subject change still continue. Certain subjects have continued to decline in prestige. Languages, as a field of interest, have gradually lost favor within the past fifty years. Greek has all but disappeared from the secondary school curriculum, and Latin appears to be on its way out. The proponents of the classical languages have not been able to persuade pupils or the public that

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[3] National Society for the Study of Education, The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum Construction, Part I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1926, p. 138.

these honored subjects of the past have educational values comparable to those of so many newer courses whose functional worth is more easily demonstrable. The same general trend has been in evidence with respect to the modern languages; the percentage of pupils enrolled in modern languages in comparison with the total secondary school population has steadily declined. The shift from French and German to Spanish, particularly in the South and Southwest, suggests that the functional considerations may determine in the future the importance of language subjects in the school, as well as which languages will be taught. The shift of national power prestige from Europe toward Russia and the emerging East and the rapid shrinking of time distance between America and other nations may eventually lead to a reappraisal of the place of languages in our secondary schools.

Until World War II placed so much emphasis upon technology in warfare, the sciences were another group of subjects that were on the decline in relative percentage enrollments. The early struggle of science subjects to find respectability in the company of the age-old subjects had stripped them of most of their functional vitality. They were taught abstractly, with heavy emphasis upon sheer memory activity; what laboratory work there was was mainly blind rule-of-thumb exercises with little immediate functional value apparent to the student. There has been a noticeable effort since 1945 to revitalize the traditional science courses and to create new courses, but science enrollments are again on the wane.

To meet changing conditions English courses such as Composition have been giving way to Communications and English Literature to World Literature; courses in dramatics, choral reading, journalism, creative writing, public speaking, and radio and television have been added. Algebra and Geometry have often been superseded by such courses as General Mathematics, and Advanced Arithmetic has been replaced by Commercial Arithmetic. Ancient History has given way to Modern History, European and English History have been supplanted by World History, and General Civics or Social Problems has taken the place of separate courses in economics, sociology, and government. In Physical Education, itself a newcomer to the curriculum, games and sports have taken the place of formal calisthenics, and Health has been added as a major subject. Domestic Science is now known as Home Making; lim-

ited courses in sewing and cooking have been supplanted by courses in foods and clothing, textiles, clothing selection, home decoration and furnishing, family budgeting and purchasing, child care, camp cookery, preparation and serving of meals, and social etiquette. These are but samples of the way changing conditions have forced modifications in the subject structure of the curriculum.

What Changes in Curriculum Patterns? The past quarter of a century has witnessed many efforts to modify the structural pattern of the curriculum. At least three major patterns have developed within the framework of the subject curriculum concept.

CORRELATION: One of the early attempts to modify the curriculum to give it more internal articulation and still retain the subject divisions in status quo was that of correlation between subjects—the attempt to indicate some natural relationships of one subject with another. It usually involved cautious efforts to develop some articulation between two or three subjects or a bold attempt to interrelate all the subjects of the school curriculum. Such combinations as history and geography, history and literature, and science and mathematics were popular. For example, it is well understood that geography played a very important part in the development of history. If a History class was studying the westward movement in America, an effort was made to get a Geography class containing roughly the same students to focus its attention upon the geography of the West. Teachers of the correlated subjects planned together to make clear the vital relations of one subject to the other. Where History and Literature were correlated, a study of later colonial history might be correlated with the study of *Evangeline*.

In one small junior high school it was decided to go all out in an effort to correlate the curricular activities of the entire school. It was agreed by the faculty that the key for correlating activities in the various subjects should be the work of the Social Studies division. The work in social studies for the following year was carefully blocked out, and the approximate time sequence was determined. This master outline was then given to all the other departments as a basis of planning the work in the several subject fields. When the colonial period was being studied in the Social Studies division, Literature classes studied *Evangeline*, *Knickerbocker History of New York*, and *Leather Stocking Tales*, and other literature of that same period, and the composition courses

made the colonial period the basis of written work. Home economics stressed the types of food and clothing common in the colonial period; Art classes studied the art and architecture of the different colonial groups; and Science classes studied the development of science at this period and its consequent influence upon the lives of the early colonists.[4]

FUSION: Fusion is usually regarded as one step beyond correlation. It may be defined as an attempt to break down traditional subject divisions and combine the content of two or more subjects into one. Instead of trying to interrelate history and geography as taught separately by different teachers, for example, proponents of fusion would lump them together in one course, where their natural interrelations can be more easily established by a single teacher. Other examples of fusion that have come into quite common curriculum practice are the combination of composition and spelling into English in the grades; botany and zoology into biology; economics, sociology, and civics into a general course called Civics, Social Problems, or Problems of Democracy; ancient, medieval, and modern history into world history; English and American literature into a general literature course; and elements of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry into general mathematics. These are typical of the efforts to draw together closely related subjects into a broader subject base and achieve a more complete synthesis than was possible through correlation.

In the earlier period of the fusion movement, care was taken to see that the content of each subject was preserved. In many instances fusion merely meant blocking out the content of each subject and arranging the blocks of subject matter into closer proximity, where their relationship would be more obvious and more easily taught.

Under the stimulus of a better knowledge of the learning processes some more adventurous approaches to the development of fusion courses have taken place. A teacher of the physical sciences in a school where most of the graduates went on to college concluded that what his students needed was to understand the prin-

[4] For an interesting discussion of early attempts to use correlation with English as the principal base, see Ruth M. Weeks (Ed.), *A Correlated Curriculum.* Report of the National Council of Teachers of English. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936.

Nature of Our Living World and *The Nature of Our Physical World,* which embodied the essential ideas of these two courses.

An early effort of one of the large educational groups to organize the secondary school curriculum into broad fields was made by the Curriculum Committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. It suggested four fields of living as areas in which the subjects of the curriculum could be organized.

 (1) health and physical fitness,
 (2) leisure time,
 (3) vocational activities, and
 (4) social relationships.[5]

Typical of organizational patterns of the broad field approach are:

 (1) Language Arts,
 (2) Social Studies,
 (3) Science and Mathematics,
 (4) Health and Physical Education, and
 (5) Fine Arts and Music.[6]

What are newer curriculum developments?

What are the newer curriculum concepts? For a number of years a radically different conception of the curriculum has been coming into usage among the vanguard of educational leaders. Modern educational writers often define the curriculum simply as "the experiences the learner has under the direction of the school." To emphasize the full significance of the difference between the old and the new concepts of the curriculum, another writer has given this definition: "The curriculum consists of all the experiences

which the child has, irrespective of their character or when or where they take place." This definition, although it makes vividly clear the full implications of the new conception of the curriculum, has only limited value for the school.

Modern psychologists tell us that we learn from an interaction of our whole body, not just the brain, with the environment. As a person tries to make satisfactory adjustments to situations that confront him, modifications in his total behavior pattern, imperceptible or great, take place. This change in the behavior pattern is called *learning*. The over-all process in which we adjust to a situation is called an *experience*.

As a result, the curriculum now focuses attention upon what kind of experiences the learner should have rather than upon the subjects he should study. This requires a complete reorientation of our thinking toward the curriculum and the way learning takes place.

How do the newer concepts influence the curriculum? Social change is usually evolutionary, not revolutionary. Our breaks with the past are for the most part gradual and uneven. While one part is moving forward, another remains impassive and often serves to slow down momentum.

Large numbers of our schools, unfortunately, are offering to the youths of today curriculums similar to those offered their fathers and mothers twenty-five to fifty years ago. Other schools are cautiously exploring the implications of the new concept of the curriculum. Still others, exploring and experimenting boldly, are blazing pathways along the new routes. The sweeping curriculum reforms made in several of our states and planned in others are weathervanes pointing the future direction of change.

At the beginning of the last decade more than two-thirds of the states were in various stages of curriculum restudy and replanning. Several studies of curriculum interest revealed scarcely a city of twenty-five thousand or over that was not seriously engaged in curriculum reforms. About this time a formidable array of books, pamphlets, and articles appeared descriptive of new efforts to bring the curriculum into closer harmony with modern educational thought. The descriptions covered the schools of the small, the medium, and the large communities.

The curriculum changes taking place under the impetus of new

ideas of learning and experience are many and varied. Among the more spectacular changes which can be attributed directly to the new concept of the curriculum are those that have been undertaken in state-wide curriculum revision programs. Most notable among these earlier pioneer studies were the state curriculum programs of Virginia and Mississippi. Arkansas, Florida, Missouri, and New Mexico have made most significant progress also.

Virginia was the first state to accept the definition of the curriculum as "experience" and attempt to develop a program consistent with the definition. Instead of considering the things the learner was to memorize for storage, the Virginia planners asked two questions: What kind of person should he be? What kind of attitudes should he express in his general behavior as a social being? These questions were answered carefully and in detail. Aims were stated in terms of what such a desirable individual should be. The aim—"The attitude of tolerance," for example, would express itself in these characteristically desirable ways:

> The desire to develop the spirit of good will toward individuals and groups whose race, religion, nationality, beliefs, or ways of living differ from one's own. The disposition to be courteous in all contacts with people. The tendency to avoid personality conflicts in the home. The disposition to show consideration for imperfections in others. Unwillingness to exploit one's fellow man.[7]

The same form was used for the other two classes of aims, designated "generalizations" and "special abilities."

After the aims are set up in this form, a question naturally arises: Where will the learner have the necessary experiences in a lifelike environment to produce the desired behavior patterns in keeping with these aims? The Virginia curriculum workers decided that the correct environment would be found in the performance of the natural functions of social life. This sidetracked the time-honored array of subjects and subject-matter courses that the pupil was expected to master. Instead, an attempt was made to canvass the total range of the normal functions of social life that one would probably participate in with reasonable effectiveness, as expressed in working attitudes, generalizations or understandings, and special abilities.

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[7] *Tentative Course of Study for the Core Curriculum of Virginia Secondary Schools. Grade VIII.* Richmond, Virginia. State Board of Education, 1934, p. 5.

To insure a wealth of experiences covering all these functions, those that appeared to have some basis of affinity were classified broadly. Eleven classifications or areas of the "major functions of social life" were decided upon.

1. Protection and Conservation of Life, Property, and Natural Resources
2. Production of Goods and Services and Distribution of the Returns of Production
3. Consumption of Goods and Services
4. Communication and Transportation of Goods and People
5. Recreation
6. Expression of Aesthetic Impulses
7. Expression of Religious Impulses
8. Education
9. Extension of Freedom
10. Integration of the Individual
11. Exploration [8]

To orient the work of each grade and to insure some bases of limitation for the grade, as well as to provide for sequence in the growth of the learner, "centers of interest" were selected. The Grade I center of interest is quoted as an example: [9]

Home and School Life: The curriculum for Grade I grows out of the pupils' interest in the life of their homes and their school. The program of instruction can be made significantly interesting and educational by utilizing the vital experiences which the home and the school present daily in the form of challenging problems to young children. The activities related to the problem of obtaining and preparing food may include experiences in raising vegetables, feeding pets, assisting in the preparation of food for the school lunch, and many similar experiences in which children of this age can successfully engage. These experiences should lead the child to see the relationships of sun, water, and soil to growing vegetables; the consequences which result from improper care of pets; and the responsibilities of father, mother and children in performing the duties of the home circle.

Similarly, other activities emphasizing the various aspects of home and school life, such as, protection and maintenance of life and health, production and consumption of clothing and shelter, transportation, play and recreation, and beautifying the environment, lend themselves uniquely to worthwhile exploration by children of the first grade.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

TABLE 14

SCOPE OF THE WORK IN THE CORE CURRICULUM FOR VIRGINIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS [10]

Major Functions of Social Life	Grade I Home and School Life (Center of Interest)	Grade II Community Life (Center of Interest)	Grade III Adaptation of Life to Environmental Forces of Nature (Center of Interest)
	Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis.
Protection and conservation of life, property, and natural resources.	How do we protect and maintain life and health in our home and school?	How do we in the community protect our life, health, and property? How do animal and plant life help people in our community and how are they protected?	How do the people, plants, and animals in communities with physical environments markedly different from ours protect themselves from forces of nature?
Production of goods and services and distribution of the returns of production.	How do the things we make and grow help us?	What do we do in our community to provide goods and services?	How do environmental forces of nature affect the goods produced in different communities?

[10] *Tentative Course of Study for the Core Curriculum of Virginia Secondary Schools, Grade VIII.* Richmond, Virginia. State Board of Education, 1934. pp. 16-19.

380

TABLE 24 (Cont'd)

Grade IV Adaptation of Life to Advancing Physical Frontiers (Center of Interest)	Grade V Effects of Inventions and Discoveries upon Our Living (Center of Interest)	Grade VI Effects of Machine Production upon Our Living (Center of Interest)	Grade VII Social Premium for Cooperative Living (Center of Interest)
Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspect of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis.
How does frontier living affect the protection of life, property, and natural resources?	How do inventions and discoveries alter our ways of protecting and conserving life, property, and natural resources?	How does machine production lead to the conservation and to the waste of life, property, and natural resources?	How do social and governmental agencies protect and conserve life, property, and natural resources?
How does frontier living modify and how has it been modified by the production and distribution of goods and services?	How do inventions and discoveries affect the variety and availability of goods?	How does machine production increase the quantity and variety and change the quality of goods?	Why are governmental monopolies established for the provision of certain services?

381

TABLE 14 (Cont'd.)

Grade VIII Adaption of Our Lives Through Nature, Social and Mechanical Inventions and Discoveries (Center of Interest)	Grade IX Agrarianism and Industrialism and Their Effects upon Our Living (Center of Interest)	Grade X Effects of Changing Culture and Changing Social Institutions upon Our Living (Center of Interest)	Grade XI Effects of a Continuously Planning Social Order upon Our Living (Center of Interest)
Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis.	Aspects of center of interest selected for emphasis.
How and why do nature and agencies enabling him to utilize and discovery affect the protection and conservation of life and property?	How and why does the change from an agrarian to an industrial order affect the use and conservation of natural resources?	Why is advancement in the protection and conservation of life and property essential in a changing society and how can it be achieved?	How can nations through social planning guarantee to all the protection of life, property, and natural resources?
How does man depend upon plant life, animal life, and minerals, and how by inventions and material discoveries increase biological discoveries increase man's use and control of nature?	How does the change from an agrarian to an industrial society affect the production and distribution of goods and services?	How can we improve production, establish an economic balance between production and consumption, and provide for a more equitable distribution of the returns of production?	How can nations plan for the establishment of proper economic interdependence by apportioning the production of goods and services and by distributing these more equitably to the consumer?

The experiences provided in Grade I should lead children to accept and to discharge effectively their responsibilities as members of the home and school groups. This will be achieved as children develop desirable generalizations to guide their actions at home and school.

A sample of the "Scope and Sequence" from Grade I to Grade XI for three areas (Table 24) will illustrate the general plan of organization. It will make abundantly clear how far away from the old curriculum these early attempts could get. It also reveals that those engaged in these earlier attempts at curriculum making found it difficult to get too far away from the formal and systematized organizational concepts of the curriculum as currently accepted and practiced.

TABLE 25

Aspect I

How and Why Do Nature and Agencies Resulting From Invention and Discovery Affect the Protection and Conservation of Life and Property? [11]

Social Studies Leads to units of work	Language Arts Leads to units of work	Science Leads to units of work	Mathematics Leads to units of work
How do life, fire, and accident insurance provide protection of life and property?	How do customs, individual motives, and environment of people affect their effort to protect and conserve them?	How does man protect himself and animals against communicable diseases?	How does a system of measurements contribute to the advancement of health, comfort, and welfare of persons and conservation of property?
How does mechanical invention emphasize material values at the expense of human values?	What family and community agencies are used to protect and conserve life and property?	How are substances like wood, iron, and textiles kept from wasting away?	How do life, fire, and accident insurance provide protection of life and property?
How and why does the government enact and enforce protective laws?		How and why is food kept from spoiling?	

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Virginia set the pace for most of the states who later followed this general plan of curriculum organization by setting up a type of a core curriculum for the secondary grades. A check of the approach used, however, makes it clear that the apparent reversion to the subject-matter approach is more in the appearance than in the reality. The subject fields have been used as a springboard but only to orient the method of approach. The sample of Aspect I for the eighth grade (Table 25) will indicate the way the core idea is exploited.

Modifications of the curriculum plan outlined at some length above have taken place in Virginia and the states which subsequently accepted the general idea pioneered in Virginia. The general plan, in some form, has had extensive use. One smaller community to popularize a refinement of the Virginia plan was Santa Barbara, California.[12]

The Wells High School of Chicago, a large city high school of over 2500 students, experimented lately with various modifications of its curriculum in an effort to bring it into line with the experience concept. For many reasons this school retained the framework of broad subject titles for classification and schedule purposes. Table 26 shows that the organization of the curriculum program is not the traditional subject organization, even though the familiar broad subject titles—Art, English, Social Studies, Science, and so forth—are used. The column entitled "Functions of Living" suggests a basic similarity to the Virginia and Mississippi plans. The "Areas of Living" column further indicates the departure of this program plan from the traditional. Table 27 explains these "Areas of Living" and shows that the old-style subject titles in Table 26 are misleading. The radical departure of this school's curriculum from the traditional should be clear from the two tables.

Another typical example of the many changes in curriculum practices brought about by these newer concepts of the curriculum may be illustrated by the innovations reported in the school program at Holteville, Alabama. This consolidated rural high school is located about five miles from Deatsville, its nearest town. The ideal of this school was to create better living conditions in the

community for all. The entire program of the school was organized around this idea. The school did not do away with the standard subjects but shifted the emphasis from subject to function. The primary value of anything studied was determined by its contribution to the enrichment of the life of the community. Content was not studied for its own sake.

The Holtville school found that much of the commercially canned fruit and vegetables used in the community could be raised there and made a source of substantial income above local consumption. This, plus the discovery that the community's heavy meat spoilage could be saved if proper refrigeration and canning facilities were available, led to action. The school secured federal and state aid to construct and equip a plant. The home economics department looked after the canning. Especially trained boys looked after the refrigeration plant and cold-storage rooms. A chick hatchery was installed under the management of students. A power-spray machine was purchased and students used it to spray farmers' orchards. The students did terracing and contour plowing and pruned fruit trees for the community by way of gaining experience in vocational agriculture. The girls gained similar experience by redecorating homes, remaking clothing, and designing draperies for home use.

Among the many other activities of this high school the pupils edited the only weekly paper for the community; ran a cooperative store, at which many of their own products were sold (including toothpaste made by their own school chemistry department); showed films five times a week for the community with a minimum admission charge; and maintained a game-loan library, from which in one week there were 153 games checked out. A bowling alley was built in connection with the gymnasium and opened to the public in the evenings. The school grounds were planned for additional community recreational activities.[13]

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[13] See Chapter XVI for further discussion of this project. For a detailed account of this curricular innovation see Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy*, pp. 322–25. Washington: National Education Association, 1940; *The Story of Holtville: A Southern Association Study School*, Nashville, Tennessee: Cullum and Ghertner Company, 1944. For description of a variety of curriculum reorganization programs see Hollis L. Caswell, *et al.*, *Curriculum Improvement in Public School Systems*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.

TABLE 16

ORGANIZATION OF THE CURRICULUM, WELLS HIGH SCHOOL, CHICAGO, 1942 [11]

Grade Level	Areas of Living	Functions of Living						
		Social Relationships	Economic Consciousness	Health	Leisure	Thought and its Communication	Ethical and Spiritual Character	Work
9B	School Home Community	Art English Physical ed. Social studies	Social studies	Physical ed. Science	Art English Physical ed. Music	Art English Social studies	Physical ed. Social studies	English Social studies
9A	School Home Community	English Physical ed. Social studies	Art English Music Physical ed. Science Social studies	Physical ed. Science	Art English Physical ed. Music	Art English Music Science Social studies	English Physical ed. Social studies	English Social studies
10B	School Home Community	English Physical ed. Science Social studies	Social studies	Physical ed. Science	English Physical ed.	English Science Social studies	English Physical ed. Science	English Social studies
10A	School Home Community	English Physical ed. Social studies	Social studies	Physical ed. Science	English Physical ed.	English Science Social studies	English Physical ed.	Auditorium arts
11A	School Home Community	English	Auditorium arts	Physical ed. Science	English Physical ed.	English Science	Physical ed.	Auditorium arts

[11] Adapted from Pierce, Paul R., *Developing a High School Curriculum*. New York: American Book Company, 1942. pp. 131-133.

386

TABLE 16 (Cont'd)

	School Home Community	English Science	Science	Physical ed. Science	English Physical ed.	English Science	English	Auditorium arts
11A	School Home Community	English Science	Science	Physical ed. Science	English Physical ed.	English Science	English	English Physical ed.
12B	School Home Community	English Social studies	Physical ed.	Physical ed.	English Physical ed.	English Social studies	English Social studies	English Physical ed.
12A	School Home Community	Physical ed. Social studies	Social studies	Physical ed. Social studies	Social studies	Social studies	Social studies	Social studies
All Grade Levels	School Home Community	Assemblies Civic association Home room Library Lunchroom Clubs Service organizations Social affairs	Civic association Home room Lunchroom	Home room Library Social affairs	Home room Library Lunchroom Clubs Social affairs	Assemblies Civic association Home room Library Social affairs	Assemblies Civic association Home room Library Lunchroom Clubs Service organizations Social affairs	Home room Library
Varying Grade Levels	School Home Community	Auditorium arts Commerce History Home economics Industrial arts	Commerce Home economics Industrial arts Mathematics	Auditorium arts Home economics Industrial arts	Auditorium arts Home economics Industrial arts Languages	Auditorium arts History Mathematics	Commerce Home economics Industrial arts	Commerce Home economics Industrial arts

TABLE 17
Determining Curriculum Areas, Wells High School, Chicago, 1942 [13]

The experiences of the good life for youth take place in three main physical areas "school," "home" and "community." The complexity of living divides each of these areas, in turn, into divisions of either a physical or a social nature, or both, which are essential to practical administration of the curriculum.

School Curriculum Divisions		Home Curriculum Divisions		Community Curriculum Divisions	
Core curriculum	Building, grounds	Home problems	Heating and lighting	Athletic sports	Civilian war action
Specialized electives	Lunchroom	Food problems	Bodily fitness	Church activities	Libraries, museums
Activity program	Intramural sports	Social affairs	Religious life	Citizenship practices	Slums, tenements
Club associations	Fresh-air school	Family membership	Family recreation	Civilian recreation	Social centers
Service organizations	Washrooms, toilets	Citizenship practices	Sex relationship	Earning money	Parks, playgrounds
Special-interest clubs	Homerooms	Home organization	Civilian war action	Social affairs	Sex relationship
Social affairs	Libraries, study centers	Socialization		Making trips	

Organizing Experiences for Curriculum

class in school, home, and community and to give recognition for their successful accomplishments as the true products of learning. The following outline for the "home" area, first semester, eleventh year, indicates experiences to be carried out by students with the guidance of teachers, parents and community leaders.

Home Experiences

Seven Major Functions of Living

Home Curriculum Districts	Human Relationships	Economic Consciousness	Leisure	Health	Thought and its Communication	Church and Spiritual Character	Work
FOOD PROBLEMS	Discussing family interest at meal-time. Showing appreciation of mother's or sister's cooking.	Helping budget food purchases. Planting a victory garden. Buying food for mother.	Preparing food for parties and candy pulls. Using confections and soft drinks moderately.	Eating balanced meals. Eating regularly and unhurriedly.	Discussing current affairs at mealtime.	Asking grace at meals. Carrying out religious food observances. Cultivating Christian institute manners.	Helping mother cook. Setting the table. Washing dishes.

[13] Adapted from data in *Shaping High School to Youth*, pp. 11–12. (Reprint from the *Corridor*, 1942.) Chicago: Wells High School, 1942.

TABLE 27 (Cont'd)

SOCIAL AFFAIRS	Entertaining friends. Helping entertain guests at father's place. Being considerate of other members of family.	Sharing party expenses. Spending money for weddings, birthdays, and holiday celebrations.	Having partner for friends. Having afternoon tea. Having friends stay for dinner.	Closing parties at reasonable hours. Deferring late week-ends. Participating in light conversation at parties.	Writing invitations, acceptances, and regrets. Participating in... with propriety. Developing skill in social games.	Selecting worth-while guests. Conducting oneself with propriety. Showing consideration to all guests.	Preparing for parties. Serving refreshments carefully. Cleaning up after parties.
FAMILY MEMBERSHIP	Striving better to appreciate parental responsibilities. Accepting greater family responsibilities. Earning right to newer privileges, e.g., later hours, use of car.	Sharing financial responsibilities by means of part-time jobs. Realizing family's economic status.	Taking father and mother out occasionally. Contributions to home leisure activities. Sharing use of radio.	Promoting whole-some emotional atmosphere. Fostering cheerful mental attitudes.	Allowing parents to understand and respect the school's aims. Extending family contacts and interests. Improving radio, picture interests.	Cultivating loyalty to one's family. Continuing to respect father and mother.	
CLOTHES PROBLEMS	Respecting fashions of parents and elders. Praising brother's and sister's good selections.	Buying durable clothing. Evaluating quality of clothing. Budgeting for clothing. Providing for upkeep of clothing.	Making hats, dresses, by crocheting. Discussing clothes. Keeping "tab" on clothing styles.	Wearing season-able clothing.	Thinking precisely about new clothes. Improving impressions created by tasteful dressing.	Developing good taste in clothes. Realizing that clothes reflect one's personality.	Making over own clothes.
CITIZENSHIP PRACTICES	Practicing care in use of own and others belongings. Acquainting parents with purpose of youth... Getting adults to vote.	Saving (salary) tax obligations. Bolstering for war stamps, bonds.	Caring for flowers and lawn. Listening to radio round-table forums.	Disposing properly of garbage and rubbish.	Discussing voting procedures and standards. Promoting analysis of newspaper, radio, political news.	Studying records of political leaders, candidates. Determining characteristics of a democracy.	Improving appearance of home and yard.

389

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

Home Curriculum Divisions	Human Relationships	Economic Considerations	Leisure	Health	Thought and Communications	Ethical and Spiritual Character	Work
HOME DECORATION	Using one's earnings in art classes to interested home decoration.	Helping parents choose durable decorative materials.	Making a trading habit of leisure as interior decorating.	Striving for health by sunshine, parental outlook through clean and tasteful surroundings.	Thinking creatively. Reflecting pleasantly on results accomplished.	Assuming increased responsibility for attractive home.	Helping parents clean and decorate.
SANITATION	Cooperating with family members to maintain sanitary conditions. Stimulating younger members to keep prices clean.	Estimating percentage of family budget for sanitation. Replacing saving by unsanitary labor effected by sanitary measures.	Spending part of leisure on personal toilette.	Bathing frequently. Washing one's own socks, underwear, handkerchiefs.	Reading about sanitation. Listening to radio programs on sanitation.	Refraining from using other's personal effects.	Fixing sanitary equipment. Killing insects and vermin. Scrubbing floors, woodwork.
HEATING AND LIGHTING	Conserving the comfort and health of others in home.	Comparing values of fuels and equipment. Conserving fuel, gas, and electricity. Guarding against loss by fire.	Making a hobby of household economies.	Obtaining proper ventilation and heating. Improving light for reading.	Studying modern types of heating and lighting.		Caring for, cleaning, and repairing equipment.
BODILY FITNESS	Promoting proper mental attitudes. Developing emotional balance through harmonious family relations.	Purchasing various tools. Using cosmetics wisely. Replacing patent medicines with those prescribed by physicians.	Carrying on regular home exercise. Developing wholesome mental qualities through parlor games.	Evaluating personal health. Using home facilities to improve health. Exterminating pests.	Studying proper diets. Analyzing advertisements of cosmetics and drugs.		Observing regular hours and healthful conditions for work.

TABLE 27 *(Cont'd)*

RELIGIOUS LIFE	Discussing church activities. Participation in family prayers. Singing sacred songs.	Budgeting contributions to the church.	Enjoying books having religious basis.	Gaining mental and emotional balance through religious activities.	Reading the Bible. Listening to religious radio programs. Contemplating spiritual matters.	Extending appreciation of man and gratitude to God. Applying ethical principles to life's problems.	Preparing for company. Gardening, habitation, and like hobbies.
FAMILY RECREATIONS	Celebrating anniversaries. Having parents told of motherhood customs. Keeping a family history.	Budgeting for entertainment.	Developing share of leisure to pleasure with family members. Entertaining relatives or friends.	Refraining from eating and drinking to excess.	Enjoying rapport with friends.	Cementing comradeship in the family.	
SEX RELATIONSHIPS	Confiding in parents respecting sex matters.	Doing things that do not require large outlays.	Entertaining boy or girl friends.	Keeping moderate dating hours at home.	Studying dating etiquette. Practicing intelligent conversation with opposite sex.	Cultivating spiritual beauty of relationship with one's life partner.	Earning dating money.
CIVILIAN WAR ACTION	Discussing military and defense matters with family. Sending things to service men (aid).	Conserving foods. Salvaging waste materials. Buying war stamps and bonds.	Extending hospitality to service men.	Observing sex hygiene. Conserving vital precautions. Developing sound body.	Writing letters to men in service. Planning ways of assisting war effort.	Cultivating spirit of service to others. Appreciating sacrifice of men in service. Maintaining family morale.	Acting as Youth leader in community. Working part-time in civilian war effort. Ushering at civilian defense meetings.

Literally thousands of variants of the two examples of curriculum modifications outlined above are under way throughout the United States; some are equally revolutionary in nature. All represent an effort to bring curriculum practice into closer harmony with changing curriculum philosophy and educational theory. The American Association of School Administrators has emphasized this evidence of widespread concern with curriculum innovation in these words:

> Our secondary schools, particularly the senior high schools, constitute what is commonly considered the most static segment of the American educational scene. Nevertheless, the diligent inquirer is likely to be surprised or even amazed by the variety and volume of curriculum change being effected each year in our junior and senior high schools.[18]

What Are Some New Content Emphases? There is a twilight zone in the transition between the old and the newer curriculum content emphasis—it lies somewhere between the change in course titles and a full understanding of what the new conceptions are and how to teach by them. Fusion, discussed earlier, was relatively simple: the change of emphasis from ancient history to modern history was a change in time emphasis only; the shift of emphasis from English literature to world literature was simply an extension to cover a wider geographical area. Basically, no change in the nature of the curriculum was implied. On the other hand, the shift of course content from formal calisthenics to games and sports or the inclusion of a practical course in social etiquette does imply a basic change in the conception of learning and the curriculum. These courses represent the influence of the newer conceptions of experience learning upon curricular content.

Definitely within the orbit of the experience curriculum concept are secondary school courses in conservation, consumer education, marriage and the family, and driver education. Under traditionally minded teachers such courses may become somewhat formalized, but they are potentially of great significance for the individual and society, especially if their action-experience educational possibilities are fully exploited.

Two broader areas of experience learning that are finding ready

[18] American Association of School Administrators. *American School Curriculum.* Thirty-first Yearbook. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1953, p. 142.

Education Bulletin recently stated that nine out of every ten employment failures were due to personal relations difficulties and not to the lack of technical competencies. The work-experience program brings the pupil face to face with these aspects of vocational success.

Nonvocational educators are more likely to stress the general educative value of work-experience for all pupils, without regard to its vocational implications. Their argument is as follows: education is basically to help young people develop those human relations competencies that will enable them to become happy, well-developed personalities and effective citizens in our democratic society. Although the development of these social attitudes and skills is stressed in the school program, they become more real to the pupil when he recognizes their importance through his work-experiences.

Those in favor of the work-experience program point also to its essentially democratic nature. Whether one toils on the farm, in the factory, or at other tasks that require hard manual labor, or joins the white collar technical or professional groups, working at common tasks under relatively normal conditions provides a common set of experiences for all. Everyone can profit by learning what it means to do the physically exhausting necessary work of the world, and by acquiring a sense of the dignity of labor and its importance for the well-being of society. Work-experience will give those who later become white-collar and professional workers a better understanding as well of the deeper problems of employer-employee relationships.

This general educational value of work-experience is now generally accepted by educators. The Educational Policy Commission, in *Education for All American Youth—A Further Look*, gives large place to work-experience as a vital part of the educational experience of every youth, for which full school credit should be given on a par with other school activities when its educative values are fully safeguarded.[17]

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[17] Educational Policies Commission. *Education For All American Youth—A Further Look*, Chapters 8–10. Washington: National Education Association 1952; see also Paul R. Pierce, *Developing a High School Curriculum*, Chapter IX. New York: American Book Company, 1942; William M. Alexander and J. Galen Saylor, *Secondary Education*, Chapter XVI. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1950.

on the elementary school curriculum. I do not consider my teachers are trained for this task."

How Have Practices Changed? Within the past twenty to thirty years curriculum-making practices have changed rapidly. Teachers have become much better trained academically and pedagogically; more and more of them are much better trained in subject matter areas than their administrators. Not infrequently teachers excel their administrators in those aspects of education that have most bearing upon the development of a functional curriculum. Administration has become a more complex and a more specialized vocation, whereas changing conceptions of education are constantly affecting curriculum-making.

Since 1925, when curriculum-making was largely the responsibility of the subject matter expert and the school administrator, there has been a steady trend toward their sharing this responsibility with the teacher. Today state Departments of Education almost invariably confer with classroom teachers in developing statewide curriculum guides and courses of study.[19] The teacher is now recognized as an important participant in any important curriculum development project.

Rapidly the community and even the pupils are being involved as vital participants in curriculum-making. Some of the most notable curriculum reorganization programs of the past decade have brought significant elements within the community into cooperative relationship; community leaders sometimes serve on advisory committees and in many instances work in committees side by side with teachers, administrators, and pupils.

Who Should Make the Curriculum? Many school staffs would be greatly disturbed were they to be told that there was a striking inconsistency between their curriculum theory and their curricu-

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[19] For a quick picture of changing theory and practices see such sources as: National Society for Study of Education, *The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Construction*, Twenty-Sixth Yearbook, Parts I and II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926; C. C. Trillingham, *The Organization and Administration of Curriculum Programs*. Los Angeles. University of Southern California Press, 1934; L. S. Lide, *Procedures in Curriculum Making*, National Survey of Secondary Education. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1932; Hollis L. Caswell, *et al.*, *Curriculum Improvement*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950, and American Association of School Administrators, *American School Curriculum*, Thirty-first Yearbook. Washington, D.C. National Education Association, 1953.

lum-making practices. The logic of the subject matter curriculum conception necessitates the curriculum content's being selected by the subject matter expert. Theoretically, he alone knows what *factual knowledge in a given subject is relationally of most importance or significance.*

However, research in many fields and a careful examination of the basic purposes of education within a democratic society have brought about many changes in our conception of the curriculum, its nature and function. The many research studies that have been made of the extent and variety of individual differences has shown clearly that an inflexible curriculum for all pupils is untenable. When such psychological factors as differences in maturation levels, experience and educational backgrounds, interests, and aptitudes are taken into account, there is general agreement among educators that at some points not even the same subject matter should be taught every pupil.

Further, *the general acceptance of the notion that learning consists of changing behavior as the result of one's experiences* (rather than amassing vast quantities of knowledge) has radically changed the theory of curriculum-making. A curriculum based upon experiences can no longer be defined in terms of subjects. The curriculum now consists of the pupil's experiences, since it is through his experiences that changes in his behavior patterns are brought about.

Inasmuch as our democratic way of life emphasizes the *possession of behavior patterns that enable a person to live happily, successfully, and efficiently in co-operative relationship with his fellow men,* the purposes of education thus change to emphasize the development in each individual of those behavioral competencies regarded as essential to successful participation in a democratic society.

Obviously the experience curriculum must be exceedingly flexible, must be constructed to meet the needs of each student, and since no two communities are alike must take into account the experience background the community has provided and can provide. There must be some consideration given, too, to the particular *basic behavior patterns required in all communities.*

Who should make the curriculum? It is clear that subject matter experts cannot formulate an experience curriculum. Indeed, there is

now common agreement that no one person can set up such a functional curriculum. It is a cooperative task involving the teacher at the heart of the program working together with the administration and the community to determine the major types of behavior competencies the learners should possess, and the broad background of facilities needed in which to make possible the experience situations necessary for learning. The learner, too, must be· brought into active participation so that he can discover challenging purposes and goals as part of his life as a member of the school and community, and help create the curriculum situations that will insure for him the right kind of learning experiences. To aid the administrator, the teacher, the community, and the pupil, there is a place for the curriculum specialist who can help them discover their problems; who can bring to their attention the successful techniques of others who have struggled with the curriculum; and who can serve as a general consultant where and when his services are needed.

Questions and Problems

1. What do we mean by single- and multiple-curriculum patterns?
2. As a group or committee project, trace the meaning of *curriculum* as the term has been used from early days to the present.
3. What is the meaning of the term *curriculum* as it is being used by more advanced writers in education today?
4. How is our conception of learning related to our conception of the curriculum?
5. Define *learning* and *experience*.
6. What are the possible implications of the newer definition of the curriculum for schoolroom practices?
7. Have individual or class reports on "newer curriculum practices" as carried out in different school communities.
8. Read *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look* and discuss the advantages, as you see them, of teaching "common learnings" as compared with teaching one or two subjects under the conventional plan.
9. Contrast the traditional subject curriculum with the emerging experience core curriculum from the viewpoint of providing for individual differences.
10. Work out a set of objectives for the traditional subject curriculum and state your objectives in terms of the actual changes in pupil behavior that you expect to bring about. Do the same for the core cur-

riculum or "common learnings." Which is easier to do, to state objectives for the subject or the core organization of the curriculum?

11. Establish a case for various promotion, guidance, homogeneous groupings, and other procedures as being attempts to make an outmoded subject organization of the curriculum serve the needs of pupils.

12. What would you recommend as desirable preparation for teachers who are going to work in either a "common learnings" or "core" program?

13. In what ways are the terms *integration, fusion,* and *correlation* related to curriculum developments?

14. How does the phrase "the range of human activities" relate to the modern curriculum?

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CHAPTER XIII

How Can the Core Curriculum Be Developed?

What is the meaning of core?

How did the core idea originate? It is possible, as some do, to trace the idea of "core" back to Herbart. For the limited purposes of this chapter our concern will be restricted to the varied uses of the term *core* as applied to the curriculum, particularly of the secondary school, over the past half century. It is within this period that its changing meaning has created much of the confusion that is now associated with the word.

As indicated in the previous chapter, where schools were large enough to offer more courses than the student could master within a specified time uniformly determined for graduation, it was customary to block off certain subjects that it was considered necessary for all students to study, and to require that all students master these as a basis of graduation. These subjects became known as "required" subjects (or "constants"); the other subjects, considered of special value only to particular students, were listed as "electives" (or "variables"). Pupils took all the "required" subjects, plus enough "electives" to meet graduation requirements. "Required" versus "electives" or "constants" versus "variables" were well known to a former generation; they are still much a part of our secondary school curriculum. The "required" courses were and are frequently referred to as the "core" of the high school curriculum.

During the second and third decades of this century educators became much concerned with "minimal essentials"—i.e., what specific items of knowledge within each required subject should be

taught. These educators used the term *core* to mean not only those subjects "required" for graduation purposes, but specifically those aspects of a "required" course which it was regarded as essential that every pupil master.

About the time of World War I educators were beginning to emphasize social needs and understandings. In 1918, Alexander Inglis,[1] an influential educational leader in secondary education, in his book *Principles of Secondary Education* advocated that the social studies should become the heart of the school curriculum; he suggested that in setting up "constants" and "variables" particular consideration should be given to "the integrating values attached to some studies, especially to the social studies and to the mother tongue and its literature." In this connection, Inglis introduced another idea that has become an important aspect of the core—namely, that although there are certain common needs and understandings essential to all youth, the recognition of individual differences in background and development makes absolutely uniform curriculum requirements undesirable. To provide for the basic competencies and at the same time to realistically take into account "differences among pupils in capacities, acquired abilities, interests," Inglis insisted that no subject *per se* in the secondary school should be "absolutely and invariably" required and that "constants" should be regarded as "preferential" rather than "required."[2] It is interesting that in this early period of rigid curriculum prescriptions Inglis recognized a principle so basic to the modern core idea, namely that even within the framework of certain general competencies the school should be sensitive to and in a measure streamlined to the growth and development needs of each pupil.

With the shift in the concept of learning, instead of "What subjects shall we teach?" the question becomes "What type of experience situations should the school set up to insure that the pupil can have appropriate experiences?" A new orientation is thus made necessary toward the problem of curriculum essentials and nonessentials, "required" courses versus "electives"; and of necessity a new approach must be made to the meaning of *core* as applied to the curriculum.

[1] Alexander Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, p. 676. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 681-682.

How define core? The original use of the term *core* to designate the "required" subjects of the curriculum no longer has meaning when used in connection with the experience conception of learning and the curriculum. *In modern education the term core has come to be applied to that part of the experience curriculum which refers to those types of experiences thought necessary for all learners in order to develop certain behavior competencies considered necessary for effective living in our democratic society.*

The modern use of the term *core* should be clearly and sharply differentiated from its traditional usage; it must be completely divorced from any patterns of subject matter courses. The two conceptions of the core represent a contradiction in terms and a confusion in educational thinking.

That there is confusion in the meaning of the term *core* is obvious to those who are acquainted with the use of the term as applied to curriculum practices. The confusion is well illustrated in a comprehensive analysis of so-called *core* practices reported in a study of the status of the core curriculum made through the United States Office of Education (Table 28).

Those who use the term *core* as it is used in Table 28 are plainly confusing the idea of *core* with the curricular terms *correlation* and *fusion*, made popular three decades ago by innovators in the curriculum field.[3] These terms were then applied to the accepted subject curriculum to describe ways of breaking down the artificial lines separating the various subjects of the curriculum. A speaker at a recent educational conference asserted that there was little reason for all the discussion of *core* since it represented generally simply a combination of English and social studies. If the prevailing practices that are carried on under the term *core* are to be the basis of our definition, he was right. In the most elaborate survey of so-called core practices made to date Wright found that 72.7 per cent of the courses labeled *core* consisted of the combination of English and social studies in varying degrees of integration.[4]

As has so often happened in education, though not in education only, as soon as a new idea is advanced by the leaders of the pro-

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[3] See the discussion of correlation and fusion in the previous chapter for the meaning of these terms and how they affected curricular organization.

[4] Grace S. Wright, *Core Curriculum in Public High Schools*, p. 13, Bulletin No. 5, 1950. Washington: Office of Education.

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TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE OF 519 SECONDARY SCHOOLS USING EACH OF FOUR TYPES OF CORE PROGRAMS [a]

State	Number of schools	Schools using type A[b]				Schools using type B[b]				Schools using type C[c]				Schools using type D[d]			
		Exclu-sively	In some classes	In most classes	Total per cent	Exclu-sively	In some classes	In most classes	Total per cent	Exclu-sively	In some classes	In most classes	Total per cent	Exclu-sively	In some classes	In most classes	Total per cent
United States	519	31.6	13.1	15.3	53.6	15.6	20.3	7.3	43.0	11.4	17.7	8.7	37.8	2.7	9.1	1.7	13.5
California	59	50.8	13.1	3.9	67.8	10.2	15.7	11.4	37.3	1.7	15.3	3.3	20.2	0	1.7	0	1.7
Maryland	121	7.4	12.4	5.0	24.8	15.7	27.3	12.4	55.4	23.0	18.2	15.7	56.9	.8	5.8	1.6	8.2
Michigan	37	43.2	10.8	5.4	59.4	13.5	24.3	2.7	40.5	10.0	13.5	8.1	21.6	5.4	16.2	4.0	21.6
New York	59	22.0	14.0	18.0	54.0	26.0	12.0	10.0	48.0	10.0	24.0	6.0	40.0	4.0	8.0	4.0	16.0
Pennsylvania	41	41.5	17.1	14.6	73.2	2.4	17.1	9.8	29.3	7.3	12.2	7.3	26.8	12.2	17.1	2.4	31.7

[a] This table, as well as several of those which follow, includes data for the United States as a whole and for each of the 5 States in which usable reports were received from more than 25 schools.

[b] Type A—Each subject retains its identity in the core; that is, a subject combined in the core or correlated is not lost sight of. For example, the teaching of American literature may be correlated with the teaching of American history. The pupil may be taught both subjects by the same teacher or each subject by the appropriate subject teacher.

Type B—Subject lines are broken down. Subjects included in the core are fused into a unified whole around a central theme, e.g. "Our American Heritage" may be the central theme for a core unifying American history and literature, and possibly art and music.

[c] Type C—Subjects are brought in only as needed. The core consists of a number of broad unplanned problems usually related to a central theme. Problems are based on predetermined areas of pupil needs, both immediate felt needs and needs as society sees them. For example, under the theme, Personal-Social Relations, there may be such problems as school citizenship, understanding myself, getting along with others, how to work effectively in group situations. Members of the class may or may not have a choice from among several problems they will, however, choose activities within the problem.

[d] Type D—Subjects are brought in only as needed as in "c" above. There are no predetermined problem areas to be studied. Pupils and teacher are free to select problems upon which they wish to work.

404

fession, many educational workers, themselves often not too well grounded in educational theory, rush for a place on the so-called bandwagon in order that they may be acclaimed as being in the vanguard of popular educational movements. Their ill-advised eagerness and unintentional misrepresentation all too often have created confusion, brought a measure of disrepute to, and retarded the growth and acceptance of otherwise sound and valuable educational ideas.[6] This is a grave danger now confronting the core curriculum movement.

It is essential that educational workers everywhere be fully cognizant of the basic cleavage between the older use of the term *core* based upon the traditional subject-centered curriculum and the theory of learning that supported it, and the newer, experience-centered curriculum and the conception of learning that gives it meaning. Fortunately, educators quite generally are now accepting the new concept; curriculum specialists, in particular, for more than a quarter of a century have almost unanimously accepted the newer basis of curriculum thinking.

Curriculum specialists' definition of core. Paul R. Pierce, in a very stimulating book devoted to a description of the curriculum development program carried on in a large high school of which he was the principal, states: "The core program consists of those activities of living necessary for *all* as worthy members of our social order." [7] A careful study of his point of view and the school program developed under his leadership will show how far "activities of living" are from the traditional subject curriculum.

Another writer in a discussion of the curriculum says:

The core then, as we are using the term, refers to that part of the curriculum which takes as its major job the development of personal

[5] Grace S. Wright, *Core Curriculum Development—Problems and Practices*, Bulletin No. 5, p. 8. Washington: Office of Education, 1952. This tendency to label anything that involves a combination of subjects in whatever form as *core* is also clearly evidenced in an unpublished doctoral study of *core* practices, under way at the time this is written, at the University of Minnesota by Arthur J. Adkins.

[6] It is only necessary for the educationally informed to recall the effect of such well meaning opportunists upon such fundamentally worth-while educational movements as the project, activity, and progressive educational movements, to mention only three examples within the past fifty years.

[7] Paul R. Pierce, *Developing a High School Curriculum*, p. 129. New York: American Book Company, 1942.

and social responsibility and competency needed by all youth to serve the needs of a democratic society.[3]

Leonard lists what he considers to be five essential characteristics of the *core*:

The first characteristic of the core phase of the curriculum is that it utilizes the problems of personal and social development common to all youth.

A second characteristic is that it develops these problems without reference to the traditional subject-matter fields . . . all teachers in the school work together to determine the crucial social and personal problems youth are facing in their community. This project should include a study of the literature on modern social problems, a study of crucial social issues in the immediate community, a study of the problems of the youth themselves, and a canvass of the opinions of youth as to the issues they consider important. From these various sources will come enough material to determine the common social and personal problems for consideration. . . . The point of approach is not "What can my subject contribute?" but rather "What is needed to develop the desired understandings and skills?" This should be answered without respect to subject lines. . . .

A third characteristic of the core is that it encourages the use of the problem solving technique to attack problems. These core issues are problems, not topics of subject matter. They require a wide variety of techniques and materials for their development.

A fourth characteristic of the core program is its provision for individual and group guidance. The traditional secondary school is organized to make it easy for teachers to be ignorant of their pupils. It is set up on the belief that an intimate knowledge of the child is unimportant. . . .

The core program places the function of guidance in the forefront. The class should be organized so that the teacher will have ample time for studying the pupil with the aid of all the information he can secure from the office records and specialists in the school services. He feels that part of the so-called class time, which traditionally has been considered time only for recitation or for "telling the pupil," is to be used for the kind of teaching which proceeds from individual and group counseling. . . .

A fifth and final characteristic . . . The core program provides for a scheme of organizing around the core the majority of the teachers of

the school in relation to a dominant central purpose—that of developing social competence—and of building the rest of the school program around individual interests and purposes supplementing the core work.[9]

In the extended discussion of which the above statements of characteristics of the core are only abbreviations, Leonard makes clear that when you are discussing *core* based upon the experience learning concept you are dealing with an idea and procedure of the curriculum that cannot for a moment be superficially confused with subject-centered notions of "correlation," "fusion," "broad fields" or other arrangements of patterns of subject matter emphasis.

Maintaining much the same point of view Krug points out that:

The course of study offering may be organized primarily either in terms of the logical patterns of human knowledge or in terms of some conception of the needs and problems of children and youth and of society. . . . But the organization of the course of study must choose one basic underlying principle or the other. It is really a rare instance of an "either-or" proposition.[10]

Referring to the frequent confusion by writers of *correlation*, *fusion*, and *broad fields* with *core*, Krug observes that these curriculum patterns are based "on the organization-of-knowledge approach," and that those who have so superficially confused these curriculum patterns with core have been concerned "with the thickness of the slice rather than with the nature of the cake. . . . Many a fusion class had gone by the name 'core curriculum,' to the intense bewilderment of teachers, curriculum workers, administrators, youth, and the lay public."[11]

Caswell, who was one of the earliest leaders to define the curriculum in terms of experience and to turn that concept into a form of curriculum organization, defines the core program as "a continuous, carefully planned series of experiences which are based on significant personal and social problems and which involve learning of common concern to all youth."[12] Caswell goes on to clarify his

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[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 397–400.

[10] Edward A. Krug, *Curriculum Planning*, pp. 85–86. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. Pages 85–96 provide a very trenchant and discriminating discussion of this issue.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[12] Hollis L. Caswell et al., *The American High School*, Eighth Yearbook, John Dewey Society, p. 143. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946.

definition by saying that this might be described as a "personal-social problems core" and that "what is intended is not a required social studies course, or a combination of social studies and English, or any like arrangement."

The term *common learnings*, which has been popularized by the Educational Policies Commission in *Education for All American Youth* in 1944, and in its 1952 revision, is used by many as synonomous with *core*. A few quotations from this document will show the close identity of the two concepts:

> What does this title, "Common Learnings," mean? It means that this course consists of learning experiences which everyone needs to have, regardless of what occupation he may expect to follow or where he may happen to live. . . .
>
> "Common Learnings" . . . extends through the three years of high school and the two years of community institute. It meets for two periods daily, in grades ten, eleven, and twelve, and for one period daily in grades thirteen and fourteen. It is required of all students. . . .
>
> Here is a course designed to provide most of the learning experiences which, it is believed, all young people should have in common in order to live happily and usefully during the years of youth and grow into the full responsibilities of adult life. . . .
>
> Briefly stated, the distinctive purposes of the course on "Common Learnings" are to help all youth grow in six areas:
>
> 1. Civic understanding and competence
> 2. Understanding of the operation of the economic system and of the human relations involved therein
> 3. Family relationships
> 4. Intelligent action as consumers
> 5. Appreciation of beauty
> 6. Proficiency in the use of language.[12]

The "common learnings" were finally identified as the essential experiences in eight areas: citizenship; family life; health; economic processes involving producers and consumers; appreciation of literature and the arts; use of the English language; the facts, principles, and methods of science needed by all students; and "guidance of individual students." Unfortunately, the Educational Policies Commission, in an effort to develop a program of secondary edu-

[12] Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*, pp. 248–252. Washington, National Education Association, 1944. See also the 1952 Revised Edition, pp. 237–241. The point of view is unchanged.

cation that might have a semblance of practicality for the conservative section of their educational public, so compromised the basic conception of common learnings by attempts at practical curriculum adjustments as to confuse the idea in the minds of the average reader.[14]

What Are Some Characteristics of Core? A number of attributes of core appear to find general acceptance. At least ten of these characteristics seem to stand out clearly:

1. The core idea is based upon the fundamental psychological principle that learning involves change in behavior which is brought about through experience; and that the curriculum consists of those types of learning experiences most likely to produce desirable behavioral change.

2. The core is organized around those types of problems of personal and social concern common to all youth in our democratic society.

3. It seeks to draw upon a wide range of informational sources, materials, and appropriate activities necessary for the solution of these vital problems of personal and social concern. Whatever in the total environment will contribute to the solution of these problems is considered "grist for the mill" by the alert discerning teacher. It involves a complete disregard of existing subject matter lines or subject matter emphasis.

4. The core emphasizes the utilization of genuine problem solving procedures and techniques in the solution of personal social problem situations.

5. The core involves and provides for a wide range of teacher cooperative curriculum planning. The core curriculum activities must be seen and planned for as a whole, and by all teachers as a group as well as individually. In the core teachers do not function as "prima donnas" within their own pre-empted areas, but as part of a professional team contributing their general and special skills to the common goals of helping boys and girls develop in maximal degree those competencies needed for successful living.

6. The core involves the joint planning of pupils and teachers in the solution of vital problem situations.

7. The core makes individual and group guidance an integral part of teaching; and accepts as the basic responsibility of the core teacher many of the major functions now assumed by guidance

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[14] To understand the compromise attempted in *Education for All American Youth* see pp. 230-245.

specialists and counselors in the more traditionally organized schools with a subject matter type compartmentalized curriculum. In the core idea teaching and guidance become largely synonymous terms.

8. The core idea involves a recognition of the over-all organization of the curriculum into two highly integrated and interrelated divisions; namely, (1) the core program devoted to the types of problems common to all youth and the common competencies all must possess to function successfully in our democratic society, and (2) the section of the curriculum devoted to the development of the special concerns of pupils in which individual interests, aptitudes, and abilities are explored and the requisite skills for each are provided an opportunity for development. Both divisions of the curriculum are based squarely upon the recognition of the same principles of learning, teaching methods, and problem organization.

9. Administratively important to the success of the core idea is the provision of large blocks of time in the day's schedule to facilitate the maximum use of problem solving processes, guidance, and the use of community resources.

10. Administratively important to the success of the guidance function of the core idea is the need to provide for longer intervals of time association between core teachers and pupils in order that teachers may know the pupils better; their environmental backgrounds, their interests, abilities, and learning development. Some schools are experimenting by allowing teachers to remain as advisers to a group for two or three years.

What is the meaning of "core program" versus "core curriculum"?

There is a widespread tendency to use *core*, *core program*, and *core curriculum* interchangeably. The fact that such an overwhelming proportion of so-called core practices refer only to some form of combination of social studies and English suggests how little the basic meaning of *core* is understood, let alone the meaning of *core program* and *core curriculum*. Even among those who know that *core* refers to that phase of the curriculum which includes the problems common to all young people and the competencies all young people need, few realize an integral relationship must exist between the core and the total school curriculum.

Obviously, such a large segment of the total curriculum as the core would require by our definition could not be left to the vagaries of chance. Careful and continuous planning of every phase

curriculum on the basis of two irreconcilable theories of learning—especially when one of these, the old "mind storage" theory upon which the subject curriculum is based, has been so thoroughly rejected by modern students of learning. To facilitate effective learning the organization of the curriculum must follow a consistent principle of learning. When the pupil goes from the core program into the special-interest division of the curriculum he must find his orientation for study similar. To plan the curriculum otherwise is to plunge the pupil into confusion, frustration, and defeat.

To indicate the basic relationship and difference between the "core program" and the "core curriculum," the *core curriculum refers to a form of the experience curriculum organized into a closely integrated and interrelated whole with one division, the core program, emphasizing the development of the common competencies needed by all, and the other division emphasizing the development of special competencies based upon the recognition of individual differences in interests, aptitudes, and capacities; the entire curriculum utilizing consistently the same basic principles of learning, teaching methods, and problem organization.*

At what educational level core?

How related to the elementary school? One of two reactions is likely to greet this question when it is asked of elementary school teachers. With a look of surprise they will answer, "Why, core does not apply to the elementary school," or "Of course, everything in the elementary school is core." The first answer springs from the fact that "required" and "elective" courses as found in the secondary school seldom exist in the elementary school; and those who give this answer identify core with a curriculum organized on the basis of required and elective courses. The second answer may spring from a triple misunderstanding of core. First, those who give this answer identify core with the notion that it involves a group of courses required of all pupils, and the elementary curriculum is required of all. Second, they identify core with the idea of one all-purpose teacher to a group of students, again like the elementary school. Third, they fail to identify core uniquely with the experience conception of learning and the organization of the curriculum around personal-social problem areas instead of subjects.

Most of our elementary schools still have a subject-centered curriculum; regular periods during the day are given to arithmetic,

reading, language, spelling, and the other subjects, even though all are taught by the same teacher. There is no reason, however, why the core concept, based as it is on a theory of the learning process and not on any age factor, should not apply as well to the elementary school as to the secondary school.

How related to the junior high school? The junior high school has been the center of attention for what has popularly been called *core.* Wright reports that of 1,215 so-called core classes reported in five states in grades 7-12, 1,024 were in grades 7-8-9 and only 191 were in grades 10-11-12.[18]

The junior high school is a good place for core experiments because of its freedom from the domination of college entrance requirements. Another reason for the emphasis upon curriculum modification at the junior high school level is the rapidly developing conviction among educators that we have had too much specialization in the junior high school. The core approach (1) eliminates the plethora of subjects, (2) effects a greater integration of curriculum offerings, and (3) provides a more gradual transition from the elementary school with its single curriculum to a more diversified curriculum in the upper secondary school.

Among thoughtful educators there has been a growing conviction that whatever justification there may have been for a diversified curriculum in the early period of the junior high school's development has now disappeared. The holding power of the junior high school has now reached the saturation point with the ratio of drop outs beginning to accelerate at the close of the tenth grade. The rapidly increasing complexity of our society and the growing need for a far greater range and power of adjustment skills on the part of all, has given emphasis to the postponement of specialization on the one hand, and on the other hand to the prolongation of the period of general education in which common competencies can be more fully developed.

Some even advocate that the single curriculum found in the elementary school should also characterize the junior high school. The influential Educational Policies Commission took this point of view:

Throughout the junior high school period . . . the educational needs of pupils are sufficiently alike to justify a common curriculum for all

18 Grace S. Wright, *Core Curriculum Development—Problems and Practices,* Bulletin No. 5, 1952. Washington: Office of Education, p. 15.

pupils with ample provision for differentiated treatment of pupils within classes to take account of diversities of interests, aptitudes, and abilities.[16]

Whether this all-out position is ultimately followed or some slight differentiation in curriculum is permitted, it is clear that in the future all or most of the junior high school period will be organized on one approximation or another of the *core program*.

How related to the senior high school? In the senior high school, the *core curriculum* with its twofold division into a "core program" and a "special interest" area must receive particular attention. Said the Educational Policies Commission, "Beginning in the tenth grade, or thereabouts, young people exhibit differences in certain of their interests and plans which call for a variety of offerings in the curriculum . . ."[17]

If the point of view becomes dominant that curriculum differentiation should not begin before the tenth grade at least, then the *core program* may be assumed to occupy a major share of the total curriculum offered at the tenth grade and diminish in later grades. However, the present tendency to emphasize the need for more general types of education, even beyond the twelfth grade, would suggest that the core idea will in the years just ahead come to receive much more consideration in curriculum planning at the senior high school level.

How related to the junior college? The Educational Policies Commission made popular the idea of extension of the core program through the thirteenth and fourteenth years; it was the Commission's suggestion that a single period every day be devoted to "common learnings."

For some years now educational leaders have been worried about overspecialization at the high school and college levels. Many students develop too early and too intensive an interest in limited vocational preparation, and devote little time to the study of areas of broader social-cultural concern. Curriculum planners trying to reverse this trend have concentrated on broad areas of knowledge rather than the development of common competencies through experience learning (the *core* approach). However, there is dis-

cernible in recent writings on general education, a bridging of the gap between broad knowledge areas and the core approach. Increasingly there is reason to expect that throughout the fourteen years of school and even beyond, general education will come to be identified with the basic core concepts.[18]

How much time is usually assigned to the "core" and "special interests" divisions in the various secondary grades is shown in Figure XI.

Daily Periods
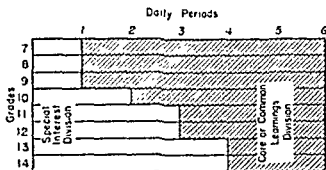
FIGURE XI. THE ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN OF THE (CORE) CURRICULUM EMPHASIS AT VARIOUS GRADE LEVELS

How has the core been organized?

The efforts of school systems to develop programs of secondary education in harmony with the new conceptions of education and the curriculum have produced many variations from the theoretical ideal. Most of these programs attempt to take into account the core or common learnings in organization. A scheme suggested in *Education for All American Youth* organizes the curriculum into two major divisions—common learnings, and individual and vocational

TABLE 29

Proposed Schedule for a Small Midwestern Community Junior and Senior High School

Time	JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL			SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL		
	Grade VII	Grade VIII	Grade IX	Grade X	Grade XI	Grade XII
8:15 to 9:30	Band practice, homeroom, and certain special activities.					
9:30 to 10:30	Individual interest activities under the supervision of junior high school and vocational teachers.			General education activities under the supervision of the senior high school teachers.		
10:30 to 11:15	General education activities under the supervision of the junior high school teachers.			Vocational teachers as consultants.		
11:15 to 12:15	Vocational teachers as consultants.			Individual interest activities under the supervision of senior high and vocational teachers.		
12:15 to 1:00	Lunch Period					
1:00 to 2:00	Individual activities under supervision of all high school teachers. Clubs—Intramurals.					
2:00 to 3:00	General education activities under the supervision of the			Special interest activities under supervision of senior high		
3:00 to 4:00	junior high school teachers.			school and vocational teachers (includes athletics).		

* Broken lines indicate class periods are combined as two hour periods.

Two types of activities are recognized:

General education activities represent those learning activities which should be experienced by all. The school is divided into seven groups labeled by year number, each of which will work as a unit during periods devoted to general education. In general, one teacher will be associated with each group for a school year, although teachers may exchange groups for short or long periods if indicated.

Special interest activities or individual interest activities are any other learning experiences for which students are grouped on other bases: vocational or college preparatory or remedial classes, clubs, hobby groups, and so forth.

interests. For practical purposes of organization these major divisions are again subdivided as indicated in Figure XII. It is assumed, however, that these subdivisions are made largely for ease in scheduling rather than in any recognition of essential differences in the approach to be made to the parts.

Not long ago a small midwestern community secondary school, with eleven full-time and three part-time teachers, also tried to develop an experience curriculum with emphasis upon the core organization. To escape the confusion that the faculty felt was clouding the meaning of the terms *core* and *common learnings*, they substituted the term *general education*. Under the plan outlined they hoped to avoid entirely the subject-matter type of curriculum. The program as outlined is presented in Table 29.

TABLE 30

A PROGRAM SCHEDULE FOR A SMALL JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Period	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Core	Core	Core	Core	Core
2	Core	Core	Core	Core	Core
3	S I	S I	S I	S I	S I
4	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
5	Core	Core	Core	Core	Core
6	Core	Core	Core	Core	Core
7	Activities	Planning and Conference	Activities	Planning and Conference	Activities

In another and more typical schedule (Table 30) regular two-period core classes meet the first two hours in the morning and the first two hours after lunch. The third period is devoted to special-interest areas (usually made up of the practical and fine arts, music, and physical education). The last hour of the day is divided with three periods per week for extracurricular activities and two periods for teacher planning and conferences.

In many senior high schools teachers teach one core group and the remainder of their teaching schedule is made up of special-interest classes covering one and two class periods. School schedules vary depending on how far planners have carried out the core curriculum idea.[19]

What are some special considerations of core?

How is core related to guidance? The core makes individual and group guidance an integral part of teaching. In the core program, teaching is essentially a matter of guiding the learner in a way that will enable him to meet new situations and adjust himself to them effectively. The guidance function is the educator's chief function, and the core curriculum is his chief tool. Further, *the core organization permits the teacher to guide learning in harmony with the best that is known about learning,* and through a more intimate acquaintance with pupils to know their needs better and thus to function as a real guide to learning.[20]

How is core related to the homeroom? The homeroom is the product of the old curriculum, in which emphasis was mainly upon the subject and only incidentally upon the pupil. Teachers became narrow specialists in their own subjects, knew little about the other subjects, and were only indirectly concerned about the relation of what they or others taught about the practical world of affairs. Many did not consider themselves in any way responsible for any problems not related directly to the subjects they taught.

As schools became larger and the subject offerings more diffuse, teachers became more narrowly specialized and of necessity became farther removed from personal acquaintance with pupils. Pupils in turn became more confused when confronted with multiple curriculums and greater elective privileges. More "square pegs were getting into round holes," with consequent serious maladjustments, discouragements, and increased numbers of drop-outs.

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[19] It is impossible to present more samples of core curriculum patterns here. Other core plans are described in Grace S. Wright, *Core Curriculum in Public High Schools,* Bulletin No. 5, 1950, pp. 16-32. Washington: Office of Education; same author, *Core Curriculum Development—Problems and Practices,* Bulletin No. 5, 1952, pp. 60-66. Washington: Office of Education; and Gertrude Noar, *The Junior High School: Today and Tomorrow,* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953, pp. 104-112.

[20] For a more complete discussion of the guidance function in teaching see Chapter XV.

The homeroom was a device created within the framework of the subject curriculum to make possible a closer acquaintance between key teachers and pupils so that pupils could receive more careful counseling, primarily with regard to their educational objectives and the courses most suitable for the attainment of these objectives. The teacher at all times was to keep in mind the pupil's abilities in relation to both his projected purposes and his proposed courses for study. The homeroom clearly was an educational afterthought, a superimposition upon a subject curriculum designed to perform an educational function not inherent in either the philosophy or the form of the subject curriculum.

The core curriculum, on the other hand, in its philosophy and form of organization, is a natural replacement of the homeroom in our modern conception of education. It emphasizes pupil needs and problems rather than subjects as the central concern of the teacher. The effort to obtain more time for core activities, to reduce the number of pupils with whom the teacher must work each day, and to extend the period of direct pupil-teacher association for one or more years, makes the core program the natural successor to the homeroom. Indeed, it renders the homeroom obsolete.

How is the core related to "extracurriculum activities"? "Extracurricular activities" grew up somewhat as an interloper on the educational horizon. A subject-matter curriculum found no place within its educational framework for athletic activities, bands, choruses, school plays, debating societies, or hobby clubs.

Through stubborn persistence extracurricular activities came to be given a place in the total scheme of the school's program. Gradually, some of these activities began to assume a degree of intellectual quality and were admitted to full or modified curricular standing. Most schools now provide time and facilities for student activities as a part of the total school program, though for many of these activities credit is not given.

Educators who seriously accept the concept of experience as the basis of learning and curriculum organization know that extracurricular activities have sound educational values. Consequently in many schools activities traditionally classified as extracurricular are now being curricularized; time, facilities, and material are allotted them; and those who engage in them are given appropriate school credit.

The core curriculum accepts the so-called extracurricular activities on a curricular par with all other learning activities. Each learning activity must meet the same standard—it must produce desirable behavioral competencies that will contribute in maximal degree to the well-being of the individual and society. In the core curriculum, therefore, there are no longer extracurricular activities, but only learning activities of many types.

How train teachers for core? Obviously teachers who are to be good core teachers require a different kind of preparation from those who are prepared to be good subject specialists. The first difference is in the conception of learning and the curriculum; the second is in scope of training. The training of subject teachers has put a premium upon narrow intensive preparation in a very limited subject area—mathematics, history, English, science, even some subdivision of science such as chemistry; whereas the preparation of core teachers stresses the need for broad familiarity with and understanding of all the major areas of living.

According to a study reported by Wright of summer session offerings by 85 colleges and universities in 1953, "at least 30 institutions (25 universities and 5 teachers' colleges) in 21 states and the District of Columbia provided a total of 46 courses which dealt entirely or in part with the core program. More and more teacher training institutions are beginning to offer programs for the preparation of core teachers.

The ultimate nature of these programs will depend in part upon how rapidly the pattern of the core curriculum crystallizes, and what form theory and experience indicate is most suitable for practical school situations.

In 1950 Glaydon D. Robbins made an extensive study of the prospects of core teacher trainings.[21] More than two-thirds of the school administrators, State Department of Education officials, and teacher training personnel Robbins interviewed believed that this general type of program would become a dominant feature of future curriculum organization. Also, 87 per cent indicated that "some special form of undergraduate preparation for teaching in this type of program was desirable."

[21] Glaydon D. Robbins, "Core or Broad Area Preparation," *Minnesota Journal of Education*, November, 1950, pp. 16–17.

The general direction educators think this training should take is indicated by the recommendations the interviews offered:

1. Establishment of broad areas as majors and minors
2. Increasing the number of majors and/or minors
3. Expansion of the program of general education
4. Increased emphasis in the professional sequences on:
   a Child and adolescent growth and development
   b Unit procedure in teaching social and individual problems approach
   c Secondary school curriculum reorganization
   d Philosophical backgrounds of curriculum instruction and organization
   e The guidance function of the teacher and the requisite skills
   f Developmental evaluation rather than attainment standards
5. Increased opportunities for students to observe and participate in such a program as an aspect of their laboratory experience.

About the middle of the last decade the University of Minnesota pioneered in establishing a core teacher training program. It was recognized that the background courses of the program would have to be drawn largely from existing offerings of the University.[22] It was agreed that certain broad concepts should govern the organization of the program:

1. That learning involves changes in behavior that take place as a result of experience.
2. That the teacher should have as broad a background of experience as possible in all the major areas of human activities.
3. That the courses included in the core major as far as possible should stress broad areas of thinking and vital life relationships.
4. That as far as possible courses should be selected which give major emphasis to a problematic approach and stress processes of problematic thinking and problem solving methods rather than factual content for its own sake.
5. That the training program should represent a frank recognition of the transitional character of the core curriculum movement.

With these guide points in mind the committee set up the following broad plan of core teaching preparation:

[22] The program briefly outlined is offered not as ideal, but as representative of a pioneering approach to teacher preparation for core teaching.

A. A core major was set up with selected courses recommended in six broad areas, totaling as a minimum more than fifty per cent of the credit requirement for a four-year undergraduate college course.

Basic Requirement Areas

Including Communications, Health and Psychology

Humanities Area

Social Science Area

Science Area

Family Life Area

Music and Art Appreciation Area

B. Minor Field of Concentration

Since it was assumed that many teachers would be required to teach in a special interest area, and these likely to represent the traditional subject matter fields, a subject minor has been suggested.

C. Professional Education

In this section a special course is set up for the broad professional orientation of core majors, classes in core methods are offered, and student teaching in core classes arranged in addition to the general work required of all education students.

Questions and Problems

1. Only those uses of *core* within recent years that have contributed to the present confusion in the use of the word have been discussed here. Many writers trace the idea much farther back in educational history. Try to develop a careful sequence of the educational basis of the term *core* from Herbart to the present.

2. As you read current periodicals and books on curriculum, list the different meanings of *core* that you find. What conceptions of learning and the curriculum seem to be implied in the various meanings?

3. How would you distinguish between *core* and *common learnings?*

4. How would you define the terms *core program* and *core curriculum?*

5. In what ways would the terms *common learnings* and *core* be used differently from their usual sense when referred to within the framework of the subject curriculum?

6. How can you explain the tendency of so many to think of fusion and core as the same?

7. Make a collection of the lists of "characteristics" of core to be found in educational writings and explain the similarities and differences between them.

8. Visit schools and classes professing to utilize the core idea and note to what extent their organization and practice agree with the concept of core presented in this chapter.

9. In what way did the representation of core in *Education for All American Youth* lead to confusion about its meaning and implication for curriculum organization?

10. Is "a large block of time" an inherent characteristic of the core idea or merely an organizational service to implement the core idea? Explain.

11. Do you think *core curriculum* and *experience curriculum* are synonymous terms? Explain the reasons for your answer.

12. Some think that core applies only to the secondary school. Explain why you agree or disagree.

13. Make a collection of core curriculum plans described in educational writings and evaluate each with respect to the extent to which it does or does not represent a true core curriculum organization.

14. In what ways may it be said that the core curriculum makes the homeroom obsolete?

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CHAPTER XIV

How to Develop Student Activities?

What are student activities?

How did student activities start? Some authorities trace the beginnings of student activities (extracurricular activities) far back into antiquity. Terry traces them back to the early Greek and Roman schools—especially to Greece, where student government, dramatics, music, clubs, debating, and athletics were common.[1] As a more immediate ancestry to student activities in American schools, he describes their development in English schools particularly in the form of athletics and literary activities.

The widespread popularity of student extracurricular activities in American secondary schools has been a relatively recent development. Jones found that the momentum of the movement really began after 1900, and that only since 1920 have they become a major problem of the school.[2]

How define student activities? Because of the change of status of student activities in the schools it is no longer easy to define them. A few decades ago student activities were simply all out-of-class activities that were participated in by large groups of students,

[1] See P. W. Terry, *Supervising Extra-Curricular Activities*, Chapter I. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1930. For a picture of extracurricular activities in the early American schools see E. D. Grizzell, *The Origin and Development of the High School in New England Before 1865*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

[2] Galen Jones, *Extra-Curricular Activities in Relation to the Curriculum*. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 667. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935.

for which no academic credit was given, and for which the school did not directly assume any responsibility.[3]

That definition would no longer be tenable. Many of these activities now receive credit in some schools; some are carried on as class activities, and are carefully regulated by the school. This change in status of some activities in many schools and the resulting confusion is graphically illustrated in the study made by Jones of what has happened to these activities in 269 schools.

No satisfactory definition at the present seems possible for these activities. Loosely stated, those activities are still regarded as extra-curricular in those schools where the original definition would apply, and to those activities in various degrees now curricularized where student direction still dominates. Table 31 clearly indicates that some activities still remain wholly or largely noncredit activities while others have become predominantly credit receiving and therefore no longer regarded as bona fide extracurricular activities. However, those activities which were, and in many places are still noncurricularized, still tend to be classified as extracurricular.

How have attitudes changed toward student activities? The confusion that exists in designating which activities are or are not to be called extracurricular arises from the change in point of view as to their educational values. Educational thinking does not change or progress uniformly, and administrative practices usually lag behind advancing educational thought. In this situation contradictory and backward administrative practices simply reflect both the unevenness of educational thinking and the conservative reluctance to adjust practice to advancing theory.

Three stages in the evolution of educational attitudes toward so-called extracurricular activities are commonly recognized. The first reaction to these activities was to ignore them. For a long time they were few in number and of minor importance, and were carried on apart from the school with little or no interference with the main purposes of the school, which existed to further the acquisition of knowledge; students attended classes, got what was assigned, or flunked. The latter was of no great moment to the in-

[3] Harry C. McKown, *Extracurricular Activities*, pp. 4-5. Revised. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952.

TABLE 31

Schools Administering Student Activities as Curricular and Extracurricular at Time of Introduction and in 1933-34 [4]

| | PERCENTAGE | | | |
| | At Introduction | | In 1933-34 | |
	Curricular	Extra-curricular	Curricular	Extra-curricular
1. Orchestra.................	43.3	56.7	82.6	17.4
2. Band....................	43.6	56.4	80.0	20.0
3. Chorus..................	53.1	46.9	78.6	21.4
4. Girls' Glee Club.........	44.2	55.8	77.9	22.1
5. Boys' Glee Club.........	39.8	60.2	75.8	24.2
6. Newspaper..............	20.6	79.4	50.6	49.4
7. Dramatics...............	16.0	84.0	45.0	55.0
8. Debating................	12.7	87.3	43.8	56.2
9. Swimming...............	11.3	88.7	23.2	76.8
10. Hockey.................	13.0	87.0	18.7	81.3
11. Wrestling...............	10.0	90.0	15.1	84.9
12. Basketball..............	3.8	96.2	14.5	85.5
13. Magazine...............	8.9	91.1	14.1	85.9
14. Baseball................	3.8	96.2	13.1	86.9
15. Track and field.........	3.1	96.9	10.8	89.2
16. Tennis..................	3.0	97.0	9.9	90.1
17. Yearbook...............	2.2	97.8	9.9	90.1
18. Football................	4.7	95.3	9.8	90.2
19. Golf...................	2.6	97.4	6.8	93.2
20. Handbook...............	3.1	96.9	5.7	94.3
21. Homeroom..............	2.1	97.9	2.6	97.4
22. Student Council.........	0.4	99.6	0.5	99.5
23. Assembly...............	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
24. Clubs:				
A. Departmental......	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
B. Recreational.......	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
C. Honoring..........	0.0	100.0		
D. Special interest or hobby........	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
E. Outside agency.....	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0

[4] Adapted from Galen Jones, *Extra-Curricular Activities in Relation to the Curriculum*, pp. 24, 32, Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 667, 1935.

structor as his business was to teach subjects. The welfare of the student in nonintellectual matters was not his concern.

The second major reaction was that of bitter opposition. This second stage was reached when extracurricular activities became popular, increased in number, and began to infringe upon the time of the student, and to threaten the *status quo* of the academic atmosphere of the school. As students began to demand more consideration from the school for these unacademic activities, administrators and faculties found it impossible to remain indifferent. It was natural that the school should vigorously oppose these activities which constituted a challenge to its cherished academic program, and were generally regarded as interlopers that not only distracted from the real task of the school, but even worse, appeared to contribute to the educational and social, if not the moral, delinquency of the student.

Two factors in particular led to the shift of attitude from opposition to the third stage which is characterized by an attitude of acceptance of extracurricular activities as a legitimate function of the school. The first resulted from the sheer weight of the pressures of students, parents, and other forces in the community. This succumbing to pressures is noticeable in many schools and faculties which reluctantly or only halfheartedly condone extracurricular activities. The rapid shift in educational thinking which increasingly gives a larger place to the importance of developing personal and social competencies as an educational function, was the second major factor in accepting so-called extracurricular activities into the school as a basic form of education.

Why are student activities important? When any activity persists over a long period of time and gathers momentum in popularity it is generally safe to assume that this activity satisfies a basic personal or social need of some kind, and is therefore of value. There are, of course, exceptions to such a broad generalization.

It is now recognized that the so-called extracurricular activities, so long and so persistently engaged in by school youth in spite of the indifference or opposition of the school, satisfies a need not provided for in the strictly academic school program. Most of those who still see the academic program as the major source of education admit the social value of properly conducted nonacademic group activities.

ities to receive higher salaries, secure better positions, go to large school systems, do more graduate work, and receive better proficiency ratings than those with little or no record of participation in student activities.[8] Much more attention should now be given to such factual studies.

What opinion value? Many opinion studies of the values of participation in extracurricular activities have been made. In an extended study involving high schools in twenty states included in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the opinions of 3,525 high school students were polled as to the benefits they thought were received from participation in student activities.

The "development of new friendships" was rated of first importance by nearly 60 per cent of the students. Six other values were listed by more than one thousand students including greater interest in school, sportsmanship, school loyalty, leisure time interests, better teacher-pupil relationship and increased ability to accept criticisms from their peers.

The same list of "benefits" used for high school students was submitted to 435 alumni from the five schools selected for special study. There was marked agreement in the relative values of the items listed. Items rated 1, 5, 6 in descending order of importance in the student evaluation study received identical ratings by the alumni group, and items rated by students 2, 3, 4, were rated 3, 4, 7, respectively, by alumni. The vote of the alumni was proportionately stronger for the benefits of extracurricular activities as a whole and for a wider range of items than expressed by contemporary high school students.

It is interesting to get the value judgments of parents of high school students who rated these same items evaluated by students and alumni. As interested observers, parents are more critical evaluators of the effects of extracurricular activities upon their children. The parents gave greater emphasis to the value of extracurricular activities. It is significant that a large number of parents believed that these activities tended to hold students in school—126 out of

[8] Earl U. Rugg, *Summary of Investigations Relating to Extra Curricular Activities.* Colorado State Teachers College Education Series, No. 9. Greeley: Colorado State Teachers College, 1930.

TABLE 32

BENEFITS 3,525 STUDENTS BELIEVE THEY RECEIVED FROM TAKING PART IN EXTRACURRICULUM ACTIVITIES [9]

Benefits Received	Number of Students Reporting		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Resulted in the development of new friendships....	901	1,146	2,047
Made school seem more interesting.............	661	822	1,483
Learned how to win and lose in a sportsmanlike manner..................................	748	585	1,333
Created a greater loyalty to the school..........	642	599	1,241
Gave something worth-while to do in leisure time..	606	483	1,089
Resulted in more friendly relations with teachers..	426	611	1,037
Became more willing to accept criticisms from others..................................	531	494	1,025
Gained valuable information that would not have been received in a regular course...........	434	532	966
Developed more poise or ease in social contacts....	302	626	928
Developed more skill in public speaking..........	395	524	919
Developed some special ability or skill...........	560	351	911
Developed a new hobby or special interest........	358	476	834
Became more tolerant of the opinions and wishes of others................................	329	478	807
Created greater interest in regular school subjects	335	418	753
Became more careful of personal appearance......	263	383	646
Learned important health habits................	360	267	627
Developed ability to organize and lead other young people..................................	222	251	473
Developed further some hobby or special interest already acquired...........................	247	226	473
Aided in helping to decide on a possible lifework..	246	217	463
Gained in ability to be a good presiding officer.....	192	204	396
Caused student to decide not to drop out of school.	135	81	216
Brought about a greater interest in your city.....	76	51	127
Others...................................	30	28	58
Number answering......................	1,715	1,810	3,525

[9] J. Lloyd Trump, *High-School Extracurriculum Activities*, p. 113, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. For another extended study of student participation and student opinion of the values of extracurricular activities see W. C. Eells, "What Secondary School Pupils Think of Pupil Activities," *Clearing House*, 12:469-475, April, 1938.

TABLE 33

Benefits 435 Alumni Believe They Received While in High School from Taking Part in Extracurriculum Activities [19]

Benefits Received	Number of Alumni Reporting		
	Men	Women	Total
Resulted in the development of new friendships...	162	164	326
Developed more poise or ease in social contacts....	128	151	279
Made school seem more interesting..............	129	132	261
Learned how to win and lose in a sportsmanlike manner...	130	113	243
Gave something worth-while to do in leisure time..	115	127	242
Resulted in more friendly relations with teachers..	116	126	242
Created a greater loyalty to the school............	120	117	237
Developed more skill in public speaking...........	116	116	232
Became more tolerant of the opinions and wishes of others..	111	108	219
Gained valuable information that would not have been received in a regular course................	108	107	215
Created a greater interest in regular school subjects	104	89	193
Became more careful of personal appearance......	89	92	181
Became more willing to accept criticisms from others..	81	95	176
Developed some special skill or ability...........	105	56	161
Developed ability to organize and lead other young people..	75	73	148
Developed a new hobby or special interest........	71	76	147
Learned important health habits................	77	51	128
Gained in ability to be a good presiding officer....	60	46	106
Developed further some hobby or special interest already acquired................................	46	50	96
Aided in helping to decide upon a possible lifework	48	37	85
Brought about a greater interest in your city	29	22	51
Caused alumni to decide not to drop out of school.	31	18	49
Number answering......	221	214	435

994 so believed. Parents agreed with their children and the alumni in placing the "development of new friendships" at the top of the list of benefits that accrue from participation in extracurricular activities.

[19] Taken from J. Lloyd Trump, *High-School Extracurriculum Activities*, p. 115, Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1944.

TABLE 34

BENEFITS 994 PARENTS BELIEVE CHILDREN RECEIVED FROM TAKING PART IN
EXTRACURRICULUM ACTIVITIES [11]

Benefits Received	Number of Parents Reporting		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*
Resulted in the development of new friendships...	182	452	634
Made school seem more interesting....	139	405	544
Gave something worth-while to do in leisure time	138	360	498
Became more tolerant of the opinions and wishes of others. . .	96	382	478
Learned *how to win and lose in a sportsmanlike manner*. .	126	350	476
Created a greater loyalty to the school	133	337	470
Developed more poise and ease in social contacts .	120	319	439
Became more willing to accept criticism from others	103	302	405
Resulted in more friendly relations with teachers.	96	270	366
Created a greater interest in regular school subjects	102	256	358
Learned important health habits.	96	256	352
Became more careful of personal appearance.	104	244	348
Gained valuable information that would not have been received in a regular course.	96	240	336
Developed *more skill in public speaking*.	87	238	325
Developed some special skill or ability.	104	214	318
Developed a new hobby or special interest.	86	228	314
Developed ability to organize and lead other young people.	62	162	224
Gained in ability to be a good presiding officer. . . .	52	154	206
Developed further some hobby or special interest already acquired.	52	153	205
Aided in helping decide upon a possible lifework. . .	64	130	194
Caused child to decide not to drop out of school. . .	42	84	126
Brought about a greater interest in your city.	41	66	107
Number answering.	281	713	994

What carry-over values? The extent to which activities engaged
in while in high school may be participated in after graduation is
an important consideration in modern education. Reavis and Van
Dyke have made significant studies of the persistence of such ac-

[11] Taken from J. Lloyd Trump, *High School Extracurriculum Activities*,
p. 118. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

TABLE 35

ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY 363 INDIVIDUALS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND ADULT LIFE WITH
CARRY-OVER FROM SECONDARY TO ADULT LIFE [1]

Type of Activity in Secondary School	Type of Activity in Adult Life	Number Participating			Percentage of Carry-over from Secondary to Adult Life
		Secondary School	Adult Life	Secondary School and Adult Life	
Service clubs	Charity and civic activities	33	193	19	52.4
Literary clubs	Literary and art activities	17	29	9	52.9
Hi-Y, YMCA	Religious groups	97	84	35	36.1
Cadet council, etc.	Political-civic groups	76	131	27	35.5
Athletic organizations	Athletic organizations	293	100	100	34.1
Instrumental music clubs	Instrumental music	55	17	15	27.3
Publications	Journalism	78	33	19	24.4
Public speaking activities	Public speaking activities	83	35	18	21.7
Vocal music	Vocal music	67	8	7	10.4
Total		798	637	249	31.2

[1] W. C. Reavis and G. E. Van Dyke, "Nonathletic Extracurriculum Activities," Bulletin 1931, No. 17, p. 118, National Survey of Secondary Education, Washington: Office of Education, 1933). See pp. 147-174 for an extended consideration of the values of extracurricular activities.

tivities into adult life. In the table is presented the results of a study of the carry-over to adult life of types of activities participated in by 363 individuals while in the secondary school. The study indicates that those student activities most nearly related to civic, literary, religious, and political activities engaged in in adult life have the greatest carry-over values.

What educational value is now attributed to these activities? As educational theory has shifted its emphasis from the importance of the mastery of encyclopedic information to that of the development of desirable personal and social competencies that involve wholesome attitudes and behavioral patterns which contribute to successful happy living in a democratic society, the school has begun to emphasize the importance of student activities as a medium of learning. So important are the educative values of those forms of activity regarded that now in educationally alert schools extracurricular activities are being incorporated into the school program on an educational par with traditional school subjects.

Those schools in which the concept of learning by experience and the curriculum is fully accepted not only recognize the educative values that inhere in well-conducted activities of the extracurricular type, but are structuring the total school and classroom program so as to permeate all the work of the school with those educative values recognized as a distinctive feature of those activities traditionally classified as extracurricular.

In this type of school the term extracurricular becomes meaningless. All activities are recognized as of potential educative value, just as all experiences the child has while in school are considered as in fact a part of the school curriculum. The concern of the school accepting the experience curriculum concept is that all activities under its guidance shall be of such a quality as to provide a worth-while educative experience for the student. Consequently no activities within the school are "extra."

As educators began to move toward this modern conception of the curriculum they in turn sought new terminology that would recognize implicitly in the labels used the educational significance of the so-called extracurricular type of activities. For those not ready to grant *full curricular parity for these activities, words such* as "semi-curricular" expressed a cautious admission that they did have educational worth. Terms such as "co-curricular" or "extra-

class" gave these activities equality of curriculum status, yet designated them as outside the traditional curriculum framework. To give these activities full curricular status and recognize that now in many schools they are in fact both an accepted school and classroom activity, and at the same time acknowledge their uniqueness, the term "student activity" is generally supplanting the older terminology.

What are the purposes of student activities?

For those who accept the educational point of view expressed above, and throughout this book, a statement of special objectives for student activities seems unnecessary. The broad statement of purposes expressed in *The Imperative Needs of Youth*,[13] and in that extended discussion of "Purposes" by the Educational Policies Commission,[14] embrace the objectives of student activities. There are facets of needs and purposes to which specific types of activities particularly apply, but activities in general are now merged with the larger aims and processes of modern education. As student activities lose their separate identity and become integrated into the total curriculum pattern separate over-all statements of purposes become meaningless. Each type of activity should be evaluated in terms of the educational purpose it is designed to achieve.

What student activities are available?

These have become about as numerous as increasingly diversified social and civil interests and student initiative could devise. However, there are some major types of student activities recognized as typical of those found in most schools. Among these are student government, student clubs, publications, athletics, speech and dramatics, music, assembly, and commencement activities.

Student government. This is one of the areas of student activities recognized as of major educational significance. In a democratic

[13] See "The Imperative Needs of Youth of Secondary School Age," pp. 2, 7–143, *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, No. 145, March, 1947: Educational Policies Commission, *Education For All American Youth, A Further Look*, p. 216. Washington: National Education Association, 1952.

[14] See Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*, pp. 51–123. Washington: National Education Association, 1938.

society it is imperative that its citizens develop understandings and skills in self-government. Acceptance of the principles of learning that we "learn through experience" and its corollary that we "learn by doing," the importance for education of utilizing the normal environment of the school living situation for such experiences becomes obvious. The school situation becomes a unique media for teaching through practical experience the principles of democratic government.

Participation of students in some phase of school control is one of the earliest forms of student activities known. It harks back to Plato and Aristotle, and was well known in early European universities. It was Trotzendorf, famous for his boys' school in Silesia, who developed to a high degree student government activities in his school. He said of this activity: *"Those men will rule conformably to the laws who, when boys, learn to obey the laws."*

Student government was well known in the English schools of Eton and Rugby, and Pestalozzi the famous precursor of modern education made an advance form of student government a part of his school in Switzerland. The first public high school in America, the English Classical High School of Boston, which dates back to 1821, boasted probably the first "student council" in America.

When we speak of student government, teachers and administrators should clearly in mind that there are distinctions which must be made between adult participation in self-government in a democratic society, and participation of immature students in the governmental activities of the school, where such participation *is utilized as an educative device. Grave consequences have* followed in schools where this distinction has not been clearly perceived.

The school cannot relinquish to immature inexperienced youth *responsibilities committed to it as the educational agency of an* adult society. Also, the educational process assumes the gradual development of learning skills on the part of the pupil under the careful guidance of the teacher, and under some basic environmental limitations imposed as general safeguards by the adult leadership of the school. It is further a recognized principle of learning that gradually increased freedom and responsibility are to be granted the pupil in his own self direction and control as he evinces capability to exercise this larger responsibility. Student government,

then, differentiates itself from adult self-government in being in part restricted. It is to be thought of as "student-participation in in government," in which the student working together with the school staff develops his understanding and skills in setting up the rules that should govern the school community and in carrying out the mandates of the adult governing authorities of the school.

The *student council* is the organization that is usually thought of as the agency through which the student body participates in the government of the school. It has a long history and its activities vary widely in our schools. According to a study made in 1939 under the auspices of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in which nearly two thousand high schools participated, it was found that 81 per cent had some form of student council.

While no uniform statement of objectives for the student council can be listed, there is basic agreement evident in the studies that have been made. In the study referred to above a total of 151 different objectives were given. The first ten, in descending order of frequency of mention, typify the general purposes accepted for the student council.

1. To create better cooperation and relationships between students and faculty.
2. To provide joint participation in school affairs.
3. To promote the general welfare of the school.
4. To promote, train for, and raise the standards of good citizenship.
5. To promote pupil activities and participation.
6. To foster school spirit.
7. To provide student opportunities to develop leadership in handling student affairs.
8. To give students a voice in student affairs.
9. To encourage, develop, and extend opportunities for student responsibilities.
10. To sponsor worth-while school projects.[15]

[15] Adapted from Ellen B. Bronge and Paul B. Jacobson, *Student Council Handbook*, pp. 24–25. The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, No. 89, March, 1940. For a further discussion of objectives and other problems involved in the organization of student councils see *The Student Council in the Secondary School*, Bulletin No. 124, October, 1944, by the National Association of Secondary School Principals; also, Joe Smith, *Student Councils*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951, L. A. Kirkendall, and F. R. Zeran, *Student Councils in Action*, New York: Chartwell House, 1953; Frederick C. Gruber and

Since the student council is one of the crucial forms of student activities and usually has much to do with the success of other activities, it deserves careful study as an educational device. There are well-established principles of organization and control with which teachers and administrators should be fully familiar if the council is to serve effectively as an educational agency in the school.

Clubs. School clubs form a second major source of student activities. They serve a wide range of student interests and can be the vehicles for the promotion of many phases of educational development. While many classifications of clubs can be made, for our purposes it may be sufficient to list well recognized types of clubs, such as hobby, service, departmental, social, and honor clubs.

Within each type of club there are discernible many student interests that may be served, many personal and social skills that may be developed, and many basic understandings of our society, its nature and functioning, that may result from club participation. Hobbies can serve to develop interests that carry over into wholesome leisure time activities immediately and for the future. A popular hobby activity of this type is philately which may contribute much to historical and intercultural understanding. The late Franklin D. Roosevelt was an enthusiastic stamp collector. Many find photography a fascinating and worth-while hobby that grows in interest with adulthood. Service clubs not only create a sensitivity to social needs, but also develop skills in group cooperative action, and a broader understanding and appreciation of our complex social organism. Studies show that this type of activity has a high carry-over value into adult life. Departmental clubs may enrich one's understanding of certain fields of knowledge, and may indirectly become an exploratory means of vocational choice. Social and honor clubs provide the media for satisfying needs for companionship and recognition, and at the same time enable those participating to develop social skills and graces.

Other activities. Activities such as music, speech and dramatics, athletics, and publications, each in turn makes its own unique contribution to the participant's education. They have many educa-

Thomas R. Beatty, *Secondary School Activities*, pp. 17-19. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954; Roland Bing, *The Status of the Student Council in the Secondary Schools of Texas in 1954.* Austin, Texas: Texas Study of Secondary Education, December, 1954.

tional values in common with other phases of school activities not considered in the special category of student activities. They also serve to provide for individual preferences and serve to give balance and well-roundedness to the school's educational program.

How to organize student activities?

Often there appears to be little rhyme or reason in the organization of student activities. Like Topsy they have grown and function largely in an atmosphere of *laissez faire*, and as a result often · with a minimum of educational values resulting from participation in them.

How select student activities? It is a *sine qua non* that the admission of any activity into the school shall have a clear and useful function. Any group of students who wish to engage in a new activity should be expected to justify its introduction into the school program. Unless it satisfies some need not now being met *by other phases of the school program it should be rejected.* Nor should the school staff, as has so often happened, encourage the introduction of an activity into the school simply because other schools have it or because some group of pupils desire it for much the same reason.

Another basic principle that should govern the selection of an activity is that it shall be open to all students who wish to participate. Occasionally an activity is desired by a certain clique, or a group of socially harmonious individuals. There are many considerations of prestige, family strata, or plain personal likes and dislikes that have led to the introduction of a new activity into the school, or the circumscribing of membership qualifications that kept out those not wanted, or limited participation to the privileged few. Often unintentionally, as well as with sinister purpose, heavy dues, expensive group activities, and other devices, have successfully limited participation from those eager and worthy but who could not meet the requirements set up for participation. In such areas as departmental clubs there are cogent reasons for keeping membership as open as possible even to those not doing work in that department, but who have a real interest in that particular area.

Should activities once established always remain is a question of debate in many schools. If the principle is followed that only those activities should be approved that demonstrate their values in the

school program, then it is doubtful that they should continue beyond their period of recognized need. To safeguard the functional nature of their school program some schools insist upon a re-evaluation in the spring or fall of all activities of the previous year to determine which activities shall continue, and what, if any, additions are urged by students and appear to have functional values.

To set up safeguards to insure functioning activities many schools and most authorities advocate the chartering of all student activities and the setting up by each activity of an approved constitution. The student council usually exercises the authority to charter and to approve constitutions.

Students do not lightly set up activities under these circumstances without carefully weighing the values that are assumed to accrue from participation in the activity. The fact that such an activity is thus in the nature of a privilege creates an awareness of its importance and a sense of responsibility for the activity's success. Careful scrutiny of the charter and constitution enables a conscientious student council to insure the democratic nature of each activity. In those schools where charters must be renewed each year the school is safeguarded from the accumulation of deadwood activities, or activities that have lost their original verve but continue halfheartedly because it might appear to be a lack of school loyalty to discontinue them. It is a desirable organizational principle that schools should periodically evaluate the functional value of every student activity.[18]

How schedule activities? Proper scheduling is an important determiner of the success of the student activity program. The question of whether activities should be assigned different periods during the day for meeting, whether all activities should be scheduled to meet at the same period, frequency of meeting of each activity whether monthly, bimonthly, weekly, or more often, what extra time allowances, if any, should be given to those activities traditionally consuming more time than a period such as athletics, plays, and operettas, how to provide for maximum opportunities for par-

[18] See J. Lloyd Trump, *High School Extracurriculum Activities*, "Principles of Management," Chap. III. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. E. G. Johnston and R. C. Faunce, *Student Activities in Secondary Schools*. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1952. Chapter XIV. Harry C. McKown, *Extracurricular Activities*. Revised. Chap. XXVI. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952.

ticipation in a variety of activities, are typical problems of sched-
uling.

The affects of hit-and-miss scheduling of activities becomes ap-
parent in those schools which do not accept responsibility for
student activities as an integral part of the school curriculum. In a
large high school the most available time for the band to meet
appeared to be 7:30 A.M., the hour before the opening of school.
Students who lived at a distance confronted transportation diffi-
culties, the necessity for early rising discouraged some, early
breakfasts and the inconvenience to some families led to home op-
position to participation. Activities which met after school hours
created difficulties for many students because of transportation,
after school employment, and parental opposition where activities
were scheduled to meet after dinner.

Many schools now set aside one period each day during the week
as an activity period. All activities must meet on days assigned. In
other schools exceptions are made for those activities assumed to
require a longer unit of time than one period, such as athletics.
Whatever the plan used, efforts are made in these schools to place
student activities on a par with other phases of the curriculum. The
principle that student activities should be given a definite place on
the daily school schedule is now generally accepted in theory, and
each year is more widely practiced.

Should participation be required? This is a much disputed point.
It is argued that to require participation would be to rob the activity
of its zestfulness, that students are much more eager and happy in
courses that are elective than in those which are required, and that
if activities were mandatory there would be a tendency for schools
to formalize their conduct along the lines of other curriculum offer-
ings.

On the other hand, those who advocate required participation
in some form of student activities point to the unique educational
experiences that are characteristic of activities and present to some
extent in much of the traditional school curriculum. The values
inherent in group activity—group planning, group organization of
projects, group responsibility for the execution of an activity, and
the critical evaluation of results—are educational values heavily
stressed in modern education.

There can be no question that in activities predominantly student

initiated, the social skills essential to effective participation in the democratic way of life are uniquely stressed. They are, in fact, the principle educational characteristic of student activities as sensed by students, alumni, parents, and teachers whose judgments of the values resulting from participation were indicated earlier in this chapter. Educators agree that there are important educational values derived from student dominated activities that are not notably present in teacher-dominated classes.

Many studies of the extent to which students participate in student activities reveal that participation is varied. Some students do not participate while others appear to make activities their major school concern. For example, Trump made a study of the extent of participation among 3,581 students in five schools over a twelve-month period. He found that approximately one-fourth, or 907 students, did not participate in any activity; slightly above one-fifth, or 693 students, participated in only one activity; and about one-sixth, or 619 students, in two activities. At the other extreme 51 pupils participated in ten or more activities.[17] Evidently the educative experiences attributed to student activities are entirely missed or very slightly enjoyed by an important segment of the students in these schools.

The question then naturally arises, if there are important educational experiences inherent in student activities either not found or not stressed in the traditional school curriculum and a significantly large part of the student body does not share these experiences, why should participation in these activities not be required of all students and justified on the same basis as other parts of the curriculum which are now required?

There is a growing practice to make participation in some forms of student activities a requirement for graduation. Some strong advocates of student activities in the school (such as Trump), while believing that all students should participate in activities, prefer that major reliance should be placed upon the organization of the activity program in such a way as to interest students, and upon an adequate guidance program to encourage participation. On the other hand, if student activities are, in fact, on a basis of curricular equality, there would seem little justification to accord to them

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

differential treatment. Their required or elective status would seem to rest upon the criterion of whether unique educational experiences essential to a well-rounded education could or could not be assured without actual participation.

The objections to required participation can be overcome largely by recognizing the uniqueness of these activities, and the necessity of permitting the maximum of freedom to students for initiative, direction and control of each activity. In those schools whose practices are dominated by modern theories of education and learning such objections are not likely to arise.

Should participation be limited? While a substantial part of the student body of the average high school, left to their own freedom of action, do not participate in student activities, a much smaller group appears to get the lion's share of the valuable education these activities afford. It is generally agreed that a balanced program of educational experiences is desirable. It frequently happens that in schools with a *laissez faire* policy in the control of student activities, major positions of leadership in the school are held by a very small number who occupy multiple key positions. In one school of over two thousand students less than ten per cent of the students controlled the leadership of all student activity organizations.

This is usually considered bad for the general morale of the student body. It means that student life is likely to be dominated by a small number of students who through interlocking control of major school organizations control school policies. The larger number of students are thus deprived of valuable experiences in leadership participation and in a feeling of real democratic participation in school affairs.

How control participation? One of the major problems of control is the stimulation of student interest in participation. One phase of the problem arises from the natural antipathy of large numbers of the introvertive type of student to seek activities of a social character. Another concerns the pupil of limited ability or skill in a given activity. It is natural for those of already developed skills in a given area of interest to seek those forms of activities in which those skills are most useful. In addition to the likely interest in the areas where skills are already in evidence there is the additional concern to participate where the chances of successful competition with his peers are probable. This leads many students notably de-

ficient in given skills to shun participation in those activities where they are likely to suffer adversely in comparison with others, although these activities may be the ones in which they could derive most benefit. By the same token it may be desirable for those with marked skills in certain areas to seek some activities in which they are definitely deficient.

A major difficulty has been the attitude of sponsors to encourage those already highly developed in certain skills to select activities where these skills can be further developed, and to discourage participation of those deficient in the skills of a given activity. Educationally it may be desirable for students to develop further skills already developed to a high degree both as a matter of personal pleasure and in some instances as a means of exploring the vocational possibilities of the activity.

Any method of control must concern itself with the limitation as well as the encouragement of participation. As indicated above some students find their major school interests in student activities. For their own educational welfare as well as for those who need to participate, some limitation upon the extent of a student's participation seems necessary. .

1. *Credit.* It has been argued that to encourage student interest in activities some school credit should be allowed for student activities as for other parts of the curriculum. Also, the recognition of student activities as an integral part of the curriculum implies their equality of credit worth. Most schools now offer school credit for some forms of activities traditionally considered extracurricular. There would seem to be no good reason to deny credit to any part of a curriculum now considered educationally on a par with the rest of that curriculum. It would encourage student participation by raising student activities to full curriculum status and specifying a certain number of credits as mandatory for graduation.

2. *Simple limitation.* As this term is commonly used it applies to an effort on the part of a school to designate that the student cannot participate in more than a given number of activities at one time. There is no reason why it may not be applied in two ways; (1) to specify the minimal participation necessary to qualify for graduation, and (2) to place a maximum limit upon participation in this phase of curricular activities. Its advantage is that it grants maximum freedom of choice within the limits prescribed. The weakness of

the plan is that it does not encourage variety in activity experiences, as a student might well devote all his time to one type of activity, such as athletics or music.

3. *Major and minor systems.* There are various arrangements possible in this type of control. This plan gives recognition to the fact that activities vary as to the time and effort necessary, and that activities differ widely in the kinds of learning experiences involved and the educational competencies that result. Such a scheme would give a much higher rating to the position of editor of the school paper than to the position of reporter on that paper taking into account the time and effort demanded of each position. At the same time it would recognize that the educational experiences of the editor of the paper are of a different kind and quality than those of the reporter.

Under this plan an effort is made to classify into major and minor categories the different student activities. Maximum and minimum limits for participation would be set for each category and for all categories taken together. The advantages of this plan are that it encourages participation in a wider variety of activities, and at the same time provides opportunity for greater numbers of students to engage in a wider range of major and minor types of activities.

4. *Point system.* The major characteristics of this system is the attempt to provide a more precise weighting of the educational values thought to reside in each activity. For example, the presidency of a class might rate four points and other class offices two points. A specified minimum number of points might be required for graduation and a specified maximum number of points would serve to limit participation. It is a common practice to combine the ideas of weighting here employed and the encouragement of varied activity experience utilized in the major and minor system.

The point system in a variety of forms is very widely used. It does attempt a more careful evaluation of the educational experiences associated with each activity, and to provide objective recognition of this evaluation.[18]

[18] For a more detailed discussion of the various systems of control of student participation in activities see E. G. Johnston, *Point Systems and Awards,* New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1930. This is still the most extended study of the point system in print. He has a further classification of control plans called the "Group System." It is so similar to Nos. 3 and 4 discussed that it has not been included in my discussion.

5. *Grades as a basis of participation.* A moot point in school practice has been the question of *controlling participation in student activities through grade standards.* Many schools have tried to make participation in student activities a privilege by requiring a certain grade point average for participation.

This practice stems from the days when activities were looked upon as inferior to the traditional curriculum and therefore regarded as extracurricular. It was *considered a good policy to encourage academic standards* by limiting participation to those who maintained creditable work in the regular school subjects. Usually a grade of C or above was required of those engaging in any form of student activity. But, at the same time that it stimulated students to do creditable work in their courses as the price for participation, this policy also effectively restricted the academically poor student to the main business of the school—the mastery of the time-honored curriculum.

Those who accept the modern conception of education and learning have challenged the assumptions underlying the grade average basis of participation. If there are valuable educational experiences resident in activities not found in the traditional curriculum, it is asked why any student should be denied these "*learning experiences*" any more than that he should be denied the right to study history or science because his grades are low. If, on the other hand, he can succeed in student activities but is *not* "verbal minded" possibly he should be encouraged to engage in activities where he can taste success and thus bolster up his self-respect and general morale.

How to administer student activities?

How supervise student activities? The responsibility of the school for student activities is now accepted. Even where full curricular status has not been accorded to student activities their educational value is seldom denied. They have thus become a part of the school program.

1. *Administrative responsibility.* The administrator can no longer escape his responsibility for student activities in the school. Early practices of ignoring or delegating full responsibility for these activities to the students are no longer justifiable.

It is now recognized that if the student activities provide valuable learning experiences, thoughtful administrative care is required to

insure that maximum educational values accrue from participation
in these activities. The same care given to the rest of the curriculum
is necessary to insure for student activities their greatest potential
educational worth. Just as student participation with the administra-
tion in developing the school curriculum is considered necessary so
that the student's curricular experiences may result in maximum
educational significance for him, it is now assumed that the same
relationship must exist in the conduct of student activities. Conse-
quently, the administrator can neither delegate completely the legal
responsibility for these activities nor ignore the cooperative man-
agement problems that are a part of the total school curriculum
responsibility. Problems of scheduling, control of participation, super-
vision, financing, and evaluation are among the major items of
administrative concern.

2. *Teacher responsibility.* Since the teacher is primarily con-
cerned with the setting up of those types of learning experience
situations that will result in the behavioral competencies boys and
girls must have to succeed in life, student activities become his
definite concern. Unlike the history teacher who upon being asked
early in the week whether there was a basketball game scheduled
for Friday night, responded to the inquiring student, "Go ask at
the office. I am only hired to teach history at this school," the
teacher has a definite interest in and responsibility for the student
activity program.

The typical school now designates, by one means or another,
teachers to act as sponsors of one or more student activities in ad-
dition to their usual teaching responsibilities. Teachers should assume
that they will be asked to accept such sponsorship, and, in fact,
look upon this as an opportunity to help youth to develop worth-
while social skills and to explore their personal interests and apti-
tudes.

Teachers should regard their teacher preparation as incomplete
which has not acquainted them with the problems incident to spon-
sorship of student activities, as well as with the peculiar educational
possibilities inherent in the various activities typical of most schools.
Alert prospective teachers will explore the types of activities in
which they find greatest interest, and will prepare themselves to be
especially competent sponsors of two or more of these activities.

At times teachers will find themselves responsible for activities

for which they feel inadequately prepared. Occasionally no one on the staff is well qualified to sponsor an activity, and the administration finds it necessary to ask the teacher most likely to succeed to act as sponsor. The wise administrator will not appoint a sponsor without ascertaining the wishes of both the teacher and the students concerned.

Should teachers be paid for sponsoring student activities? This question has been warmly debated in recent years as activities have become an increasingly prominent part of the school program. The issue has arisen where in the case of activities of a time-consuming nature, it has been found more convenient to schedule them after school hours.

Many schools have assumed that sponsorship for these activities is a natural obligation of the teacher and a part of his duties. Some schools have tried to equate teacher loads by reducing the teacher's class schedule during the regular school day to correspond with the after school time required by the activity sponsored, while others have tried to meet the overtime problem by extra pay.

It has seemed unjust to ask some teachers to assume extra responsibilities beyond those that can be discharged within the regular school day. To relieve the teacher of his class load to equate for his out of school time load has been objected to because the teacher whose day is broken up into fragments with no large blocks of time for personal or family concerns, works under a definite handicap. Many have felt it necessary to work after school hours to supplement their salaries. After-school activities interfere with the freedom of action of those assigned to these activities; and yet the educational significance of these activities is not in question.

This is a basic problem that will engage the teachers' attention increasingly in the years immediately ahead. The issue arises out of the fact that the present school day is a flareback to a period when education was conceived to be a mind-storage process and its academic activities could be restricted to the formal classroom and a nine A.M. to three-thirty P.M. school day. Acceptance of the principle of experience learning which makes education inclusive of all forms of student activities requires a new orientation of the relation of the school to all phases of vital learning. We are in a transition period in which school organization and practice are tardily adjusting to dynamic changes in educational theory. Until the school day

is made to correspond more realistically to the major part of the learning day span of the educator, this issue will continue to create tensions. Possibly a temporary solution may be found in the school determination of what constitutes a teacher's working day, and then following the practice of business of extra pay for overtime.

How finance student activities? Activities cost money to operate. The cost of some activities are minor while others of necessity require considerable outlays of money. As this is written some public spirited members of the community in which the author lives are out to raise $5,000 for uniforms for the local high school band. Musical instruments, too, are expensive. Athletics, as usually conducted, are costly.

A question that arises is to what extent should the student bear the expense involved in his participation in a desired activity? If the student is expected to "pay his way" in his favorite activity a problem immediately arises as to what effect such a policy will have upon the freedom of students to follow their activity interests. Many students who would like to and should engage in band or orchestral activities cannot do so because the cost of musical instruments are prohibitive to their parents.

Still another question that arises is whether an activity that has peculiar educational and personal interest value to a pupil should be denied him because of the personal cost burden involved? Also, the question arises whether the learner should bear the costs of his student activity learning experiences any more than he is expected to defray the costs of his more academic courses whose relative educational worth are coming under more serious question.

All of this finally resolves itself into the larger issue of the function of education within a democratic society, and the duty as well as the right of the individual to equip himself with the best all-around education possible, so that he may be a competent, useful, and happy citizen. America has committed itself to the principle of free educational opportunity to all through the secondary school as a basic instrument of national welfare. It is committed also to the principle of equality of educational opportunity for all its citizens without economic or social discrimination. It is an ideal toward which we are moving, though, obviously in educational practice it is not yet attained.

At present many schools through traditional inertia, or lack of full acceptance by teachers and community of the relative educational merits of student activities, let the financial burden of these activities remain upon the students; or, as in the example cited above respecting band uniforms, the community indirectly assumes responsibility for certain phases of these activities. It is clear that if student activities are educationally on a par with the traditional segments of the curriculum, they should be supported by the school through regular tax support on an equality with all other educative activities of the school.

What principles should govern student activities?

A reasonably clear body of broad principles are coming into general acceptance by the leaders in education, but they may in a few instances not find full acceptance by all readers. They are, however, consistent with the educational philosophy presented in this book, and are specifically stated in the discussion of this chapter. Only those considered as broadly basic are enumerated below.

1. Student activities should be an integral part of the total school curriculum.
2. All activities should be scheduled on school time.
3. As far as possible a specific place on the school schedule should be set aside for student activities.
4. Participants should be free of financial obligations for all basic costs of an activity.
5. Student participation in activities should be encouraged and minimal participation should be required.
6. Students should be free under guidance to participate in the activities of their choice.
7. The administration of admission and participation requirements should be democratic.
8. Annually each activity should be functionally evaluated as a basis of its admission or continuance in the program.
9. Credit for participation in student activities should be awarded on the same principles that govern other curriculum offerings.
10. Sponsors should be limited to the school staff.
11. The function of the sponsor should be advisory and guiding in nature.

12. Student activities should be financed by regular budgetary provision of the Board of Education on the same basis as other curricular activities.[19]

Questions and Problems

1. Why do we speak of student activities in this chapter rather than of extracurricular activities?

2. Trace the presence of student activities back into antiquity and indicate what changes, if any, can be noted in the kind of activities that were engaged in then and now.

3. How would you define extracurricular activities?

4. What change in attitude toward E.C.A. does McKown recognize? Explain these changes in attitude.

5. What evidence can you produce in support of the educational values of E.C.A.?

6. To what extent do you think student and parent judgments of the value of E.C.A. are reliable?

7. Can you explain why some extracurricular activities have not become curricularized while others have?

8. Set up a debate for and against the proposition that "the educational values of interscholastic athletics justify their continuance as a school activity."

9. Have a series of panel discussions on the relative educational merits of different forms of so-called extracurricular activities.

10. Provide for debates or panel discussions on the issues:
    a. Credit for so-called E.C.A. on the same basis as recognized curricular subjects.
    b. Advisability or justification of requiring minimal participation in so-called E.C.A.

11. Differentiate between student self-government and student participation in government; and present arguments for and against each.

12. What are some of the ways schools in your state programize or schedule student activities?

13. What reasons can you advance for and against "limiting participation" in student activities?

14. How can participation be regulated?

15. How should student activities be financed?

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[19] For more minute lists of statements of principles that should govern student activities see the list of 27 developed by J. Lloyd Trump, *High School Extracurriculum Activities*, pp. 19-40. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Also the list given by Harry C. McKown, *Extracurricular Activities*, pp. 17-25. 3d Ed., New York. The Macmillan Company, 1952.

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CHAPTER XV

What Shall the Function of Guidance Be?

Why is guidance important?

How did the problem of guidance arise? Guidance is a relative new-
comer to the field of education; before the turn of the century
guidance was virtually unknown in American secondary education.
In general, *before that those who went to the secondary schools*
were directed toward the academic work of the college or the uni-
versity. Most of these planned a future in the professions. College
entrance requirements tended to be uniform. The program of the
college or university did not differ greatly for at least the first two
years, and most four-year college programs were not too dissimilar.
Most high schools offered a single curriculum program with very
little elective privilege. Even the few larger high schools which
introduced very limited multiple curriculums did not vary their
subject offerings greatly.[1] It was not until the second and third
decade of this century that larger high schools began to offer a
plethora of courses.[2] Going from the one extreme of rigidity of
subject offerings to the other extreme of a confusing multiplicity of
subjects only served to create the problem of intelligent selection of
courses by immature high school students.

The rapid increase of secondary students that began about 1900
brought many youths to school who were not interested in, or
capable of, or who could not finance education beyond the high

[1] For a picture of the rigid nature of curriculum offerings before 1900 and
even prior to 1918, see John E. Stout, *The Development of High-School Cur-
ricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918,* pp. 46–56. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1921.
[2] See Chapter III for a discussion of the curricular development of high
schools during the second and third decades of this century.

school. In addition, there were many who were not able to continue for a full four years of high school education. The new influx to the secondary school consisted mostly of those with skilled and semiskilled vocational needs and interests.

Maladjustments in our schools became a matter of growing concern. Youths were getting into the wrong courses for which they lacked aptitude or interest. The old bugaboo of respectability of college preparatory courses led many into blind alley programs. Failures and eliminations doubled, trebled, and quadrupled. Part of these failures and eliminations represented changes in schedules due to lack of knowledge of the nature of a course at the time of enrolling. This led to handicaps in late shifts to other courses, disappointments, and a natural increase of apathy toward school work of all kinds. Also, many students found themselves in school because of compulsory attendance laws or parental insistence and they had no definite goals to motivate them.

What was its early development? The first efforts to meet this serious situation was to attempt some kind of vocational direction of the student. Frank Parsons, in 1908, began vocational placement guidance in Boston, principally with out-of-school youth. He urged that a similar plan of vocational guidance and placement be made a part of the educational program of every school system. The vocational guidance and placement movement quickly caught the imagination and favor of people. It will be remembered that some of the early purposes of the junior high school movement was that of vocational exploration and guidance. In 1914 there appeared a small book by Jesse Davis entitled *Vocational and Moral Guidance.* This was in part an outgrowth of Davis' efforts to teach educational and vocational guidance through English composition courses in the schools of Grand Rapids, Michigan. With the popularity of such books as Brewer's *Vocational and Educational Guidance,* published in 1918, educational guidance found a place beside vocational guidance. Even in its early period the major emphasis in educational guidance was limited to the wise selection of a vocation and the proper education for the vocation chosen.

How has guidance emphasis changed? It was natural that at first the guidance movement should emphasize vocational selection and placement. With the beginning of the second decade of the century the rapid influx of pupils into the schools and the growing

number of drop-outs focused attention upon the need for a wise selection of a vocation while in school and the finding of jobs for the increasing numbers not completing or not continuing their education beyond the secondary school. It also led to the realization that good guidance involved helping students select those courses that best prepared them for the vocations chosen.

During this second decade studies in psychology and education began to reveal extensive differences between individuals, particularly in general ability and aptitudes. Educators began to realize that guidance involved much beside the proper selection of a vocation, although these studies contributed much to better vocational guidance. It became evident that many students were enrolled in courses and curriculums for which they were unsuited. In some instances they lacked the general mental ability to do the work required; in others they did not possess the aptitudes considered necessary for success. Guidance became important in helping students to select the curriculum and courses in which they could hope to succeed, and in success find satisfaction.

The report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education entitled *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* made in 1918, introduced a radical change in the stated purposes of education and this gave guidance a new emphasis.[8] Secondary education which officially had been considered to have essentially a college preparatory function now placed major stress upon the *civic-social-ethical* factors of living. The activities of the school and the curriculum were expected to serve these new educational purposes, and it was assumed these would undergo such modification as would best aid in the realization of the broader purposes of education thus envisaged.

Those responsible for guidance in the school now found this range of activities greatly enlarged. It was not enough that the individual be guided into the right vocation or guided successfully through the growing maze of course offerings for his own sake. Now all those considerations of good attitudes, social sensitivity, understandings and skills that make for wholesome socially intelligent and responsible citizens became desirable attributes of

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[8] The importance of this report has been discussed in much detail earlier in this book. It will, therefore, not be considered here extensively.

maintain a ratio of guidance specialists in relation to specified school enrollments.

On the other hand, *changing conceptions of education have complicated the problem of education versus guidance as a special function.* With better knowledge of the complex psychological nature of the human organism and the introduction of a radical change in the conception of learning and the goals of education, which have come about in the past quarter-century, the guidance movement *has faced a period of confusion and adjustment.* A better understanding of *individual differences has complicated the guidance problem* since each individual has to be considered as an entity with peculiar educational needs and cannot be fitted into a few pattern stereotypes. Now that *learning is recognized as a matter of acquiring changes in behavior patterns through experience* rather than *the acquisition of knowledge primarily through memory,* the problem of directing the learning process is considered to be far more difficult than it was thought to be of yore. The modern conception of the educational purposes as guiding the youth into the acquisition of those behavior competencies that will enable him to participate most effectively as an individual in a democratic society *has created a further problem for the guidance movement.* It creates a problem, too, for those who urge that the newer conceptions of education make guidance and education synonymous terms.

There may not be an either/or answer to this question of whether guidance is to be considered a special function or synonymous with the larger conception of education. *A look at contemporary definitions of guidance and modern education may help to resolve the issue.*

How define guidance? The definitions of guidance that are popularly accepted today make it difficult to determine how the guidance function is to be separated from at least one phase of the purpose of general education. A definition representative of the better thinking in this field is that suggested in the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards:

Guidance, as applied to the secondary school, should be thought of as an organized service designed to give systematic aid to pupils in making *adjustments to various types of problems* which they must meet—educational, vocational, health, moral, social, civic, and personal. It should endeavor to help the pupil to know himself as an individual and as a

member of society; to enable him to correct certain of his shortcomings that interfere with progress; to know about vocations and professions so, that he may intelligently choose and prepare, in whole or in part, for a life career; and to assist him in the constant discovery and development of abiding creative and recreational interests.[5]

Other definitions of guidance by recognized guidance authorities appear to be in general agreement with that of the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards. Dunsmoor and Miller define guidance thus:

Guidance is a means of helping individuals to understand and use wisely the educational, vocational, and personal potentialities and opportunities which they have or can develop. It is a form of systematic assistance whereby pupils are aided in achieving satisfactory adjustment to self and to others in their school and life relationships.[6]

This definition is further amplified by the writers in these words:

Civic-ethical-social guidance may be considered as that phase of the school's guidance activity which concerns itself with the development of accepted and desirable standards of personal conduct and attitudes, as these standards relate to the common good.[7]

Another writer, Franklin R. Zeran, states that:

The keystone of the school program is guidance—personal assistance to individual boys and girls in making their plans and decisions about careers, education, employment, and all sorts of personal problems. . . . Guidance is . . . the high art of helping boys and girls to plan their own actions wisely in the full light of all the facts they can muster and about themselves and about the world in which they will work and live.[8]

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[5] *Evaluative Criteria*, p. 63. Washington: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1940. The same definition with few minor changes in wording is repeated in the 1950 edition of the *Evaluative Criteria*, p. 221, which indicates a consistent and well considered conception of guidance by this important educational body.

[6] Clarence C. Dunsmoor and Leonard M. Miller, *Principles and Methods of Guidance for Teachers*. Revised, p. 5. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1949.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[8] Franklin R. Zeran, "The Pupil-Personnel Program," *The American Secondary School*. Ed. Paul B. Jacobson, pp. 284-285. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952.

Arthur J. Jones, who has been an authority in the guidance field for over a quarter of a century, approaches the meaning of guidance as follows:

> Viewing the life of the individual as a whole, guidance may be said to have as its purpose helping the individual to discover his needs, to assess his potentialities, gradually to develop life goals that are individually satisfying and socially desirable, to formulate plans of action in the service of these goals, and to proceed to their realization.
>
> This practically identifies the purpose of guidance with that of education. It places major emphasis upon the development of the whole individual who is now functioning and will in the future function in a social environment. It is a useful concept because it stresses the unity of one's life and reveals the impossibility of separating one aspect of life from another.[6]

It is clear that the conceptions of guidance presented in these definitions are envisaged in the modern conceptions of the purposes of education. Under the old ideas of education and the curriculum, the pupil was much like a ship afloat without a rudder or compass on an uncertain sea. The confusing array of courses to be taken and the uncertain direction in which these studies led forced the school to maintain a personnel member who understood the significance of courses taken in a given pattern to equip the pupil for the attainment of a definite goal and who, at the same time, could advise the learner in terms of his interests and abilities which goals and patterns it was desirable and expedient for him to seek.

Today the curriculum is not thought of in terms of discrete subjects to be studied. It is thought of rather as consisting of those experiences which develop the individual, social, and vocational competencies necessary for effective living in society. Education is the guidance of the pupil in his learning activities so that he has those experiences appropriate for the development of needed competencies. Thus, the guidance function, as defined by the authorities

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[6] Arthur J. Jones, *Principles of Guidance*, 4th Ed., pp. 77-78. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951. This writer devotes an entire chapter to a discussion of the meaning of guidance which all interested in this problem should read. For further discussion see: Lefever, Turrell, Weitzel, *Principles and Techniques of Guidance*, Revised, Chapter 24. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950. Glenn E. Smith, *Principles and Practices of the Guidance Program*, Chaps. 1-2. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951.

quoted, becomes identified with the total educative program of the school.

How shall guidance be implemented?

Who shall be responsible for guidance? The recognition by the guidance specialist and the teaching staff that the modern conceptions of education and guidance are for practical purposes identical has created problems for all concerned. It is at this point that the difficulties involved in much of contemporary "professional guidance" thinking and modern educational philosophy and practice are brought sharply into focus.[19] Professional guidance would set up an organization charged with responsibility for the guidance function in contradistinction to, and largely superimposed upon, the educational process directly in operation between the pupil and the teacher. It is easy to see that a curriculum program consisting of discrete subjects taught without much relation to each other and without regard for the immediate problems of the learner would not provide the services contemplated in guidance procedures. In fact, these practices of the school have led to the development of the guidance function to meet these areas of neglected pupil needs. The organization of separate "organized services" and personnel to meet this need for guidance is a logical development of traditional educational practice. There was virtually no way for the pupil to get help on his personal, social, or vocational problems from the specialist trained in the niceties of grammatical syntax, mathematical axioms, or Latin declensions.

Professional guidance, therefore, has developed an elaborate organizational structure and a personnel specially trained to operate the system. In many, if not most, of our larger secondary schools such a guidance plan can render pupils a distinct service. Unfortunately, the elaborate devices and personnel contemplated in modern guidance programs make their utilization impractical in most small high schools. An effort has been made to secure part-time guidance programs in such schools. The cost of such a program

[19] The confusion and difficulties in which the guidance movement finds itself is well indicated in the defensive discussion of the problems of guidance in Jane Warters, *High-School Personnel Work Today*, pp. 3–32. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946.

has left most schools without the benefit of any formal programs of guidance.

The concepts of education presented in this book as representative of forward-looking contemporary educational thought and graphically portrayed in a compromise form in *Education for All American Youth* simply transfer most of the guidance activities outlined in the usual textbook on guidance to the regular functions of the classroom teacher. It cannot be too often or too emphatically repeated that the teacher in modern education is concerned not with teaching subjects *per se*, but with the guidance of youth in those behavioral adjustments which will enable him to live successfully in his present environment, and develop competencies for the future. Everything the teacher does must contribute definitely to the achievement of this educative goal. The teacher has no other function or justification as a member of the school staff.

There has been an evolutionary development in programs of secondary schools toward the functional conception of education. The emphasis upon extracurricular activities as a part of the school program was one of the early tacit admissions of the subject-matter schools that certain basic needs of youth were not being met in the traditional school program. It was thought that fundamental personal and social needs could be met through these extra-legal activities attached to the school. The homeroom represents another effort to bolster an antiquated educational system; the homeroom period provided an opportunity for the performance of certain guidance functions. These have been important adjuncts to a school system that has tried to hold the traditional academic school program with one hand and with the other hand grasp the newer educational ideas expressed in these program devices. Until schools are ready to accept modern conceptions of education and adopt an educational program *in full harmony therewith*, such educational devices are valuable means of bridging, to some extent, the gap between educational antiquity and educational modernity.

The development of the experience curriculum has made possible the full exercise of the guidance functions within the natural framework of the secondary school program. *In fact, it becomes an integral part of the educational and program ideal.* Modern secondary education at its best embodies the essence of the guidance *function as the heart of its program.* The core organization of the

curriculum has made guidance of a high order a natural part of the educative process. Here the teacher becomes the major vehicle of guidance integrated into the total activities of the core. Four aspects of the core organization contribute to this practical exercise of guidance as a function of the program: first, the adoption of class periods two or three hours in length for core purposes removes from the school the sense of rigidity and artificiality that surrounds the typical school—it presents a more lifelike atmosphere in which the normal activities of life can be carried on. Second, this lengthened period provides time for methods better adapted to the experience type of learning. Problem-solving techniques with experiences in individual and group activities make it possible for the teacher to counsel pupils informally as a natural part of the instructional function and under circumstances where such counsel is pertinent to the situation. Teacher-pupil planning, both group and individual, is facilitated in these longer periods. This aspect of the instructional procedure emphasized in modern education is a very valuable phase of the guidance activity of the classroom teacher. The flexibility, the informality, and the sense of cooperativeness of a properly conducted core period makes guidance a matter of prevention more than one of remedial concern. Third, the lengthened core period limits the number of pupils the teacher must contact each day. With two core periods per day the teacher has his per-pupil teaching load reduced from the 125 to 175 pupils customarily faced in the classroom in a traditional high-school program to 40 to 60 pupils under the core program. This makes possible an intimate knowledge of these students which is not feasible for a school guidance specialist. The core teacher is expected to know each pupil in the core group, his personal abilities and interests, social characteristics, home background, and, by close contact and study of the pupil, the teacher will provide that general and specific educational guidance and direction which enables the pupil to grow normally as a well-rounded individual and valued member of the school and community. Fourth, the tendency to lengthen the time span teachers remain with their core groups to one or more years adds immeasurably to the guidance effectiveness of the teacher. For example, a teacher is given a core group through the junior high school, and another teacher assumes responsibility through the senior high school. This continuity provides unexcelled opportu-

nity for the teacher to know each pupil—his abilities, weaknesses, interests, social competencies, growth and development over the years, home and community backgrounds, et cetera, as a basis for intelligent guidance.

These modern educational developments are emphasizing the increased place of the classroom teacher in guidance and minimizing the emphasis upon the out-of-class guidance personnel. It is difficult to see how the basic functions of guiding the pupil in growth in personal and group living can be carried on as effectively by someone removed from intimate daily contact with the pupil as by the teacher who lives in close contact with the student under the conditions implied in the newer schools. Guidance by office counseling would appear to be limited in value. Sensing this situation, one educational leader has observed that the solution of this problem is not to be found in the "multiplication of personnel with sharply differentiated functions" but in the recognition of the place of the teacher in modern education, with attention devoted to appropriate curriculum revision.[11] Another leader, who has developed an outstanding educational program in a large high school, has based his program upon the principle that learning takes place through experience. Therefore he has centered the direct guidance activity in the hands of the classroom teacher. Certain "basic principles" were set up to govern the guidance procedures in the Wells High School:

First it was regarded as basic that problems which conventionally call for guidance should be anticipated and eliminated through development of a curriculum fitted to pupils' interests, abilities, and needs. . . . Our principle was thus equivalent to saying that curriculum improvement is the chief vehicle of guidance. A second principle was that guidance should be concerned not so much with determining a given niche for the student and then fitting him into it as with training him to meet realistic problems here and now, that he might effectively meet the complex problems of later life. . . . A third principle was that guidance should be an integral part of the curriculum conducted in the student's actual learning situations and not involve specialized personnel and instructional machinery. A fourth principle, developed as the result of continued experience and study, was that the normative scientific data regarding

[11] Harold Alberty, Reorganizing the High School Curriculum, Revised, p. 334. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953.

adolescents should not overinfluence guidance procedures to the neglect of personal, individual conditions respecting a pupil.[12]

The Wells High School maintains a Guidance Clinic, but the major activity of the guidance personnel is that of training and servicing classroom and homeroom teachers who do the actual face-to-face guidance "in learning situations as needed." The Guidance Clinic provides the teachers with test result data, secures data from the elementary schools which serve as feeders to the high school, and assist in other ways to make data helpful in actual guidance situations available to teachers.

The development of a guidance program in the secondary school is recognized as an important educational asset. Schools with a traditional educational curriculum must have a well-organized guidance program to supplement the work of the school and to offset the maladjustments created by an educational program unsuited to the needs of today's youth. The thoroughly modern school will incorporate much of the guidance function into the educational program administered by the classroom teacher. Specialized phases of guidance, it would appear, will still require the services of guidance personnel broadly educated to understand not only the pupil but also the peculiar functions of education within our society. To what extent the work of the guidance personnel will be that of servicing the teaching staff or participating in face-to-face guidance of the pupil cannot be stated with assurance at this time. Experience in developing procedures for the effective implementation of the modern conceptions of education must be relied upon to indicate in the immediate future the best techniques and organization of guidance for the new secondary schools.

What are some recognized guidance tasks? There are some guidance activities generally recognized by all authorities on guidance. The list varies in length depending upon the extent to which the writers emphasize a limited conception of the guidance function, or accept a definition of guidance more nearly synonymous. Again, the list may be compact or extended as the writer breaks down larger categories into small divisions. A list of guidance services which emphasizes the educational and vocational guidance function is a five-fold classification of activities by Zeran:

[12] Paul R. Pierce, *Developing a High School Curriculum*, pp. 217-218. New York: American Book Company, 1942.

1. The analysis of the individual
2. Information:
   a Occupational
   b Educational
   c Referral
3. Counseling
4. Placement
5. Follow-up of the school-leaver [12]

At the other extreme may be cited the list of guidance tasks outlined by writers who emphasize the broader concept of guidance as essentially synonymous with education. The list of 46 activities of guidance as given by one authority are here abbreviated and paraphrased for brevity:

1. Orientation of pupils to school.
2. Collection of data and development of cumulating record cards.
3. Giving of tests and collection of test data.
4. Interpretation of test data to pupils and others.
5. Study the needs, interests, abilities, achievements, etc., of pupils.
6. Prepare case studies; conduct teacher conferences.
7. Provide remedial services for pupils or refer to specialists.
8. Refer certain pupils to guidance office for counseling.
9. Maintain adequate files of guidance materials.
10. Inform pupils regarding educational requirements and opportunities.
11. Counsel prospective new pupils about new school.
12. Assist pupils formulate long-term educational plans in tenth grade.
13. Help pupils in wise choice of college.
14. Help pupils acquire good study habits.
15. Build group morale.
16. Assist pupils gain appreciation of group activities and urge wise participation.
17. Through guidance assist disciplining of pupils.
18. Help pupils in solution of personal problems.
19. Through discussion and tests assist pupils to understand and accept themselves as persons.
20. Assist pupils in the development of a wholesome philosophy of life.

[12] Franklin R. Zeran, "The Pupil-Personnel Program," *The American Secondary School*, p. 288. Ed. Paul B. Jacobson. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952.

21. Assist pupils in social adjustment through understanding of others and themselves.
22. Assist teachers in understanding problems of pupils.
23. Assist pupils to understand implications of economic, social, and biological problems for family life adjustment.
24. Administer vocational interest and aptitude tests.
25. Develop file of current occupational information and vocational counseling materials.
26. Conduct trips to business and industry for occupational orientation.
27. Discuss with pupils vocational implications of school subjects.
28. Counsel pupils about their choice of a vocation.
29. Counsel pupils prior to issuance of work permits and certified school records.
30. Assist with placement services.
31. Conduct follow-up studies of counselees.
32. Assist pupils in securing part-time work experiences and interpretation of values of these experiences.
33. Assist principal in organizing guidance program.
34. Coordinate the guidance activities of the school.
35. Confer with specialists of central office staff.
36. Coordinate guidance activities of counselees.
37. Coordinate guidance activities of the school with those of the community agencies.
38. Interpret the guidance program to the community.
39. Contact those in the community who may aid in the guidance program.
40. Conduct career days, college days, and other guidance conferences.
41. Help teachers develop guidance point of view and techniques of collecting and interpreting behavioral data.
42. Prepare guidance materials.
43. Keep guidance functionaries informed about recent literature in the field.
44. Conduct evaluation and research of the guidance program.
45. Recommend needed curriculum revision.
46. Prepare a schedule of in-service improvement activities of teachers.[14]

[14] Adapted from Clarence C. Dunsmoor and Leonard M. Miller, *Principles and Methods of Guidance for Teachers*, pp. 36-41. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1949. For another statement of functions see Glenn E. Smith, *Principles and Practices of the Guidance Program*, Chaps. 3-4. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1951.

Out of these 46 guidance activities listed by Dunsmoor and Miller, only nine are specified as the exclusive responsibility of the guidance specialist. Those who accept modern education probably would grant not more than four of these activities as of no direct concern or responsibility of the teacher.[16]

What implications for education of guidance specialists and teachers? The above list of guidance activities suggests the broader conception of the guidance function now coming into general acceptance by guidance authorities, and the consequent narrowing of the gap between the accepted purposes of guidance and of education. This carries with it grave implications for the education of both teachers and guidance specialists of the secondary school. Teachers, guidance specialists, and administrators of the secondary school must give serious attention to the patterns of education both teachers and guidance specialists now receive and should receive.

There has been a definite shift in emphasis in the preparation of teachers, though the transition has been slow and inadequate to meet modern conceptions of education. The shift has been away *from narrow subject specialization to a basic understanding of the broad underlying patterns of our culture—social, economic, philosophical, historical—as part of the total rapidly evolving and integrating world culture.* An effort is being made to bring the teacher out of the ivory tower and bring him into intimate association with the active world about him through contact with and active participation in community life. Thus, the teacher not only is familiar with the community background of the pupil, but is able to utilize this knowledge in the better guidance of the learning experiences of the pupil and in his vocational adjustments. There has been increased emphasis upon the understanding of the child: his genetic development, and all the complex aspects of his biological and psychological nature, the wide range of individual differences, the emotions, the learning process, and the appropriate methodology for the utilization of all this knowledge and understanding of the child and his world so that the teacher can meet the greater challenge of modern education.

It seems obvious that the guidance specialist needs the same broad pattern of educational preparation now evolving for the teacher.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 43.

In addition, he should be more technically grounded in special
aspects of this broad educational pattern. As long as we continue
to have a subject-centered curriculum in many schools and subject
specialist emphasis in much of teacher training, there will be need
for specialists who can help pupils with their special educational
and vocational problems, counsel pupils in their more serious per-
sonal and social concerns, and give special assistance to those pe-
culiarly emotionally and otherwise maladjusted.

How set up a workable guidance program? There is a serious
practical problem of making guidance function in the school. The
tendency of the guidance specialists to conceive of a guidance spe-
cialist as an essential part of any program of guidance in the school
seems unrealistic. Recently at a gathering of several hundred edu-
cators, two widely known guidance specialists serving on a panel
were asked, "What should be the relation of the guidance per-
sonnel to the students?" The first apparently without too much
thought replied, "One counselor to every ten students." The other
said, "One counselor to every 75 students so that a minimum of
two conferences a year of one full hour each might be held with
every student." Under present financial conditions in our schools
such a recommendation as one guidance specialist to 75 pupils is
impractical, desirable as it might be in a traditional type of school.
The suggestion most generally offered of one guidance person to
every 300-400 pupils is probably economically realizable but edu-
cationally unrealistic. So much of our educational thinking seems
to assume large schools and neglects the fact that over half the
secondary schools in this country have an enrollment of less than
175 pupils.

In the larger secondary schools, which are relatively few in num-
ber but serve a majority of all secondary school pupils, it would
seem feasible to have one or more guidance specialists. Where sev-
eral were possible, for example, one might emphasize psychiatric
problems, one social-personal problems, one health, another voca-
tional. This typical division of labor would provide a rich back-
ground of intelligent personnel service to the student in keeping
with the modern concept of the function of education. These,
working with the teachers who assume the principal responsibility
for face-to-face counseling, would be able to handle the excep-

tionally difficult cases and devote their major attention to servicing the teaching staff.

The smaller schools, which represent the major number of secondary schools, must look to a more practical solution of their problems. In these schools the wise administrator should select his small teaching staff so that each teacher represents some additional preparation in a special area popularly thought of as the special guidance services. The teachers should then compliment each other in their recognized areas of emphasized preparation. There is no longer a place for the "prima donna" in teaching who goes his own individual way. Education is now conceived to be a complex unified task in which cooperation is the key to the success of the school program. The principal of the small school might well represent the special area of placement and follow-up, and cooperatively serve as the coordinator of the total educational task of the school which is his logically recognized educational function. The adoption of the core organization of the school and its curriculum is designed to serve ideally this concept of the unified educational program of the small school.

Questions and Problems

1. How do you define guidance?

2. How did the problem of guidance in the school arise?

3. a. Trace the development of the guidance movement over the past fifty years, noting differences in emphasis.
   b. Explain why these changes in the idea and emphasis in guidance have come about.

4. What distinction do you make between guidance and teaching?

5. Why does Dr. Pierce in *Developing the High School Curriculum* maintain that face-to-face guidance activities are exclusively the responsibility of the teacher? What responsibilities would the guidance specialist have in Dr. Pierce's school?

6. How does the guidance concept fit into the core curriculum?

7. In what ways do changing conceptions of learning and the curriculum affect the idea of guidance?

8. How can the teacher and the guidance specialist work together?

9. Describe how guidance may be carried on in both the small and large schools.

10. Define the terms "education" and "guidance" and explain their similarities and differences in meaning. Relate the function of the teacher to these two concepts.

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CHAPTER XVI

How to Develop the Community School?

Spanning almost two decades there has been a growing crescendo of emphasis upon what educational writers have chosen to call the *community school*. As far back as 1923, Paul E. Belting, like a lone voice crying in the wilderness, was the first boldly to involve the community concept in a general text in secondary education which he entitled *The Community and Its High School*. In the Preface and throughout the text the author indicated that he senses the germinal nature of the idea in the functional uniqueness of the community-school relationship. Within the past few years there has come from the press a veritable rash of books devoted to the theoretical and practical aspects of community-school relationships. It is the logical outgrowth of our more critical and realistic approach to the functional operation of the institution of the public school in our democratic society.

Why a community school?

To pose such a question to the average older adult would probably elicit a startled, bewildered response. To the elderly adult, the school obviously exists to educate the children who attend it, and this is the general responsibility of the schools in whatever district, village, or city located. It is just a part of our accepted belief in universal education.

For most of them memories of the schools they attended bring back mental pictures of classrooms with desks fastened to the floor in neat rows, at which they sat all day, studied, and recited from textbooks uniform for all grades, and with content far removed from the affairs of the daily lives of the pupils or people of the

local school district. Indeed, "the transmission of the cultural heritage," which for these elders composed the school curriculum, emphasized mastery of the three R's, a knowledge of the history and literature of the past, along with the basic ideals of democracy as enunciated in the Constitution by the founding fathers. These comprised the principal task and responsibility of the school. Roughly, this was the uniform task of the school irrespective of locality.

Of course, those who have followed the development of educational theory and practice as presented in the previous pages of this book are fully aware that the above description of the school so familiar to the older generation is a picture of the American public school now obsolete in theory, though unfortunately only now obsolescing in practice.

However, as we try to project further our thinking with respect to the specific nature and functioning of the educational agency we call the "school" in our rapidly evolving democratic society, we should explore more fully its operational relationships within the community. This will involve the exploration of a number of questions concerning relationships of the school in the community.

Does the school belong to the community? Earlier in this book it has been pointed out that in America, as has been universally true in all cultures, the school has been accepted as an agency of our society for its perpetuation. Earlier it was also pointed out that in America the school serves not only as an agency for the preservation of our cherished democratic ideals, but also has the additional unique function of developing in our youth those basic understandings, attitudes, and skills that will enable them to constantly improve the democratic way of life as rapidly changing conditions make necessary change in our ways of living.

Historically, the founding fathers through the Constitution recognized the importance of education as an instrument of national well-being, but left to the several states the responsibility for the maintenance of schools. The states in turn have delegated primary responsibility for the organization and maintenance of schools to local communities. With the passing of time the states have given increased financial support to local school districts, and have set up more and more educational safeguards for their citizens by hedging about the authority of local communities in the conduct of the schools. Quite generally, states have now set up minimum standards

related to such things as the educational preparation of teachers through control of teacher certification, prescription of basic curriculum offerings, the determination of minimal length of school day and year, and the adequacy of the school's physical facilities and equipment.

Legally, then, the school does belong to the district community, under the limited restrictions which the state has imposed as safeguards for the general welfare of its citizens. In a very real sense the local school community can determine the character of the school program it will have. Indeed, it is under obligation to do so.

Is the community involved in the educative process? Or, stated in quite another and more pointed way, "Can the educative process be limited to the school?" The old-fashioned notion that an adequate education can be carried on within the four walls of a traditional school building can now being widely challenged. The twin principles of learning, generally accepted by educators, that "we learn through experience," and that "learning takes place most effectively in as natural and as lifelike an environment as possible," makes archaic the old idea that education can be effectively encompassed in the confines of a classroom. The entire community that makes up the normal living activities of the learner must be recognized as the total educative environment of the child.

The pervasiveness of the learning environment of the child as today accepted has been succinctly stated in the title of a recent book on education, *They Learn What They Live.* This title points up at least two important aspects of the principles stated above. First, learning in its dynamic nature is confined to what the learner experiences in the normal processes of living. Education confined to the classroom imposes a limited, artificial, and circumscribed environment for learning. To provide a well-rounded educative experience or experiences requires that the school be concerned with the total living environment of the learner and the stimulating resources that make up the total community. Here practically every phase of the education of the child in his personal and social development can be given an opportunity for natural expression and cultivation. The school today must draw upon the wealth of community resources as a natural and effective basis of "learning through experience." It means that the learner must

would expose the children. Within the week as this is being penned, the writer has been approached as to the relative attractiveness of two school neighborhoods from the standpoint of the possible environmental effect of each neighborhood upon the children of these anxious parents.

Let there be a proposal that a license for a liquor tavern or some other questionable business be granted for a quality residential neighborhood, and see how quickly opposition is registered to the proposal on the plea that such a business would endanger the moral environment of the youth of the neighborhood. Residential property values are commonly accepted as bearing a definite relation to the desirable quality of the living conditions that make such areas attractive to parents as wholesome living places for their children. Increasingly there is a growing awareness that the community is inescapably involved in the educative process as a laboratory of learning experiences for its youth.

Should education be a cooperative task? Acceptance of the point of view expressed above would seem to involve an affirmative answer. If the environment where the child lives becomes the media of his living, and if *he learns what he lives*, then it is all important that the child's total living environment, out of school as well as in school, should provide for him the kind of experience situations that develop in him high ideals of thought and behavior practices consonant with our ideals of what democratic living at its best should be.

Obviously the school cannot achieve this alone. In fact, as a creature of the community, even the level of the school's educational ideals and practices will be determined in part by the community. Whether the school maintains a forward-looking educational program or a traditional one, whether it has an alert competent teaching staff or a mediocre backward one, or whether the school has physical plant facilities and equipment geared to a high-level, modern educational program or a backward limited one, will reflect the quality of the community's educational thinking and values. Good education is generally more expensive than poor education; and the community holds the purse strings.

It should be equally clear that since vital learning is involved in the child's total community living experience, the community must

cooperate with the school to make these community experiences worth while, and to integrate them with the school programs.

Should the school improve community living? The discussion thus far of community-school relations would suggest an affirmative answer. The point has been made that the school within a democratic society carries the unique responsibility for the improvement and upgrading of that society as well as for its perpetuation. That must apply to the local community where the influence of the school is most directly felt. Since by legal delegation of powers the community has been given major responsibility for the support and management of schools, historically the community has tended to think of the school in terms of its benefits to the community, particularly to the community's children. The now famous *Kalamazoo* case indirectly encouraged the vested interest or benefit notion of the school to the community by giving to the community school district the right to provide for itself almost unlimited educational privileges.

That the American school community has accepted the school as having an obligation to contribute to the living standards of its citizens is evident on every hand. In the rural communities, particularly, large use of the school has been made not only to prepare youth to be better farmers and homemakers through courses in agriculture and homemaking, but also to offer direct aid to farmers and their wives in improving farm practices through upgrading of soils, the selection and upgrading of grains, feeds, and livestock, the preservation and preparation of foods and clothing, and in home beautification. *In the village and city school communities,* extensive evening educational programs of all kinds are now offered to meet a growing demand for adult education. Courses are available by which late adolescent age groups or adults may make up educational deficiencies or supplement educational attainments, while others utilize the school's leadership and facilities to discuss and plan improvement in local living conditions. The range of activities now associated with the school's efforts to improve the standard of living about it is almost unlimited and is steadily expanding to meet mounting demands. The school is now universally accepted in America as not only having the potentials of service but also has the duty to lead in the improvement of the standards of living within its area of influence.

What is a community school?

Thus far some basic questions involving the fundamental functions of education within the face to face relationships of the school and those it immediately serves has been considered. Terms such as "community" and "community school" have been used without any attempt to define them except through usage implication. Recent developments in education have brought the idea of the community school into prominence, and has given the term at least quasi-technical meaning in educational parlance. Educational workers must understand broadly its meaning and educational significance.

What is a community? Every student of sociology knows that this is an easier question to ask than it is to satisfactorily answer. It has many ramifications which extend all the way from the small relatively self-contained group to the town, city, state, nation and even to international groups. There are subcommunity groupings and overlapping community groupings. Most people with their varied interests may be identified with more than one community. It is difficult to find a simple meaningful definition. One authority defines a community in a somewhat abstract and academic fashion thus:

> From a sociological standpoint, a community is a configuration of land, people, and culture, a structured pattern of human relations within a geographic area.

Then to render this definition more meaningful a list of "seven fundamental characteristics" of such a defined community are given, followed by twenty pages of discussion to clarify the meaning of community. The seven characteristics of a community listed are:

1. A population aggregate
2. Inhabiting a delimitable, contiguous area
3. Sharing a historical heritage
4. Possessing a set of basic service institutions
5. Participating in a common mode of life
6. Conscious of its unity
7. Able to act in a corporate way [1]

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[1] Lloyd A. Cook and Elaine F. Cook, *A Sociological Approach to Education*, pp. 48–49. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

Another authority devoting an entire chapter to the complex meaning of the term "community," presents a simpler definition in these words:

> The community, as the term is used in this chapter, may be defined as the area in which one carries on the major functions of his political, social, and economic existence, and in which he has a sense of belonging.[2]

Still another writer in a final paragraph of a chapter in which he has endeavored to clarify the concept of community, summarizes the heart of the community idea in these words:

> The community, in any of its diverse varieties, is actually or potentially an arena of social communication and social participation. It is the crucible . . . of democracy in human affairs.[3]

From these three brief definitions it is possible to sense that basic in a real community is the individual-group consciousness of belongingness, as one writer expresses it, and in which there is a common interaction of the people as they strive together to solve common problems which they recognize concern their general welfare. A strong sense of group responsibility and of cooperative effort, also, is a characteristic that identifies the solidarity of a closely knit community.

What is a community school? With the central idea of the community in mind it is not difficult to establish an operational picture of the community school. A conception of the community school, simply stated, which fits into the basic idea of the community given above has been expressed as follows:

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[2] R. R. Martin, "The Community," *Society Under Analysis*, p. 372. Ed. Elmer Pendell. Lancaster, Pa.: Jaques Cattell Press, 1947.

[3] Howard W. Beers, "American Communities," in *The Community School*, p. 29, Part II, the Fifty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. For a more complete discussion of the community, the reader should read the complete chapters from which the quotations above have been taken, or other sociological sources where the community is considered in more detail. It is our purpose here only to point up the basic aspects of the community concept as these may have bearing upon the community school idea. To see the diversified interests within a modern rural community the student will find the several interest pattern graphs of a normal community group presented in Burton W. Kreitlow, *Rural Education: Community Backgrounds*, Chap. 4. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.

A school that is intimately connected with the life of the community, serving as a center for many community activities, and utilizing community resources in improving the education program.[4]

Another definition of the community school, similar in nature but with a greater emphasis upon the service function of the school within and to the community, is that given by Hanna and Naslund:

A community school is a school which has concerns beyond the training of literate, "right minded," and economically efficient citizens who reflect the values and processes of a particular social, economic, or political setting. In addition to these basic educational tasks, *it is directly concerned with improving all aspects of living in the community* in all the broad meaning of that concept in the local, state, regional, national, or international community.

To implement, clarify, and spell out the uniqueness of the community school as the writers understand it, they continue in more detail a description of such a school:

To attain that end, the community school is *consciously used* by the people of the community. Its curriculum reflects planning to meet the discovered needs of the community with changes in emphasis as circumstances indicate. Its buildings and physical facilities are at once a center for both youth and adults who together are actively engaged in analyzing problems suggested by the needs of the community and in formulating and exploring possible solutions to those problems. Finally, the community school is concerned that the people put solutions into operation to the end that living is improved and enriched for the individual and the community.[5]

Others have attempted to spell out the meaning of the community school by listing the general characteristics commonly observed to be peculiar to these schools. Cook and Olsen have suggested six characteristics of the community school:

1. Educates youth by and for participation in the full range of basic life activities (human needs, areas of living, persistent problems, etc.).
2. Seeks increasingly to democratize life in school and outside.

[4] Carter V. Good, Ed. *Dictionary of Education*, p. 87. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945.

[5] Paul R. Hanna and Robert A. Naslund, "The Community School Defined," in *The Community School*, p. 53, Part II, Fifty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

3. Functions as a community-service center for youth and adult groups.
4. Actively cooperates with other social agencies and groups in improving community life.
5. Uses community resources in all aspects of its program.
6. Educates teachers for community leadership.[6]

Possibly the most important and at the same time the most extensive statement of characteristics of the community school made to date is the list of 16 drawn up by the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1948. It includes in essentials all that has been said above in characterizing the community school and in addition makes more definitive the attributes of this school. Following are the characteristics as given:

1. The community school seeks to operate continuously as an important unit in the family of agencies serving the common purpose of improving community living.
2. The community school shares with citizens continuing responsibility for the identification of community needs and the development of subsequent action programs to meet these needs.
3. The community school begins its responsibility for better living with the immediate school environment.
4. The curriculum of the community school is sufficiently comprehensive and flexible to facilitate the realization of its purpose.
5. The community school program is dynamic, constantly changing to meet emerging community needs.
6. The community school makes full use of all community resources for learning experiences.
7. The community school develops and uses distinctive types of teaching materials.
8. The community school shares with other agencies the responsibilities for providing opportunities for appropriate learning experiences for all members of the community.
9. The community school recognizes improvement in social and community relations behavior as an indication of individual growth and development.
10. The community school develops continuous evaluation in terms of the quality of living for pupils, teachers, and administrators; for the total school programs; and for the community.

[6] Lloyd A. Cook and Edward G. Olsen, "School and Community," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, Revised, p. 1075. Ed. Walter S. Monroe. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950.

11. The pupil personnel services of the community school are cooperatively developed in relation to community needs.

12. The community school secures staff personnel properly prepared to contribute to the distinctive objectives of the school, facilitates effective work and continuous professional growth by members of the staff, and maintains only those personnel policies which are consistent with the school's purposes.

13. The community school maintains democratic pupil-teacher-administrator relationships.

14. The community school creates, and operates in, a situation where there is a high expectancy of what good schools can do to improve community living.

15. The community school buildings, equipment, and grounds are so designed, constructed, and used as to make it possible to provide for children, youth, and adults those experiences in community living which are not adequately provided by agencies other than the schools.

16. The community school budget is the financial plan for translating into reality the educational program which the school board, staff members, students, and other citizens have agreed upon as desirable for their community.[7]

What is the task of the community school?

From the definitions of the community school and its characteristics as presented in the preceding section, the basis has been given by which the general outlines of the over-all task of the community school can be suggested. A study of the general practices of these schools, too, indicates the unique types of their activities. Some of the recognized major tasks of the community school are here considered.

How utilize community resources for learning? This is a problem that confronts all schools that visualize education as something more than what traditionally takes place in the classroom limited to textbooks. It is a primary concern of the modern school made conscious of the assets of the community as a gold mine of rich resources of learning experiences for its pupils.

The community-conscious school looks upon all historic places

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[7] *Second Report of the 1948 National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration*, pp. 7-9. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

in the community as vital aids to make the past alive and meaningful to youth. Parks, botanical gardens, scenic spots of all kinds, and museums offer opportunities to bring children into contact with the wonders and beauties of nature and through firsthand experiences develop more fully a love for and appreciation of beauty and nature.

Firsthand study of business and industry adds a clearer understanding of economic problems; the contribution of science and invention to men's productive capacity, to the relief of much drudgery through labor saving devices, increasing leisure time, a better understanding of labor problems, vocational possibilities, and the dignity of work.

Government and institutional agencies provide a means of direct observation of the operation of our societal institutions, their complexities and services to the people of the community as no amount of library reading could do, valuable as is this approach to these problems. The school cannot afford to forget that the local community is in a very real sense a microcosm of our larger society.

There are interesting personalities in the community whose valuable background of experience should be made available to the school. Business leaders, experts in many fields, world travelers, pioneers, and in most places representatives of many cultural strains, even some original immigrants to America, have a wealth of understanding, insights, experiences, and old world and cultural folklore to share with as yet provincial-minded boys and girls.

In recent years, as discussed earlier in this book, those who accept the implications of experience learning and the curriculum have looked upon the community as a valuable laboratory of work-experience for youth. Those responsible for vocational education long have looked upon the business-industrial part of the community as an ideal environment in which youth could get practical lifelike work experience as a basis of vocational choice and technical training on the job. More recently, educators have thought of work experience in a lifelike situation as a most important means of developing understanding and appreciation of what life in a work-a-day world involves, even though those who undergo these experiences later become professional men and women. Also, there are valuable social skills which it is believed can best be acquired through this form of direct work experience.

The problem of the community-minded school is to find out how these assets of the community can best be made available to the school. Some of these assets can be brought to the school, but for most the school must go to them.

How relate curriculum to community needs? The curriculum offerings of many schools show no conscious relationship to the peculiar nature and needs of the local community, while in others there is an obvious relationship between the curriculum and the community. In a small rural farm community where the school was located some 15 miles from the nearest railroad and enrolled a total of 18 students, a school board member boasted to a visiting educator that the principal had told them that the school curriculum was sufficient to prepare their children to enter college. There appeared to be little likelihood that any of these students hoped or planned to go further than high school graduation.

Another very small high school with a very small enrollment in a similar community definitely pointed the limited curriculum it could offer toward the preparation of its students for effective living in that community. The course in agriculture and shops introduced boys to a study of local farm soils, appropriate crops to raise, terracing to protect against erosion in a rolling terrain, and the construction of feeders for chickens, pigs, and cattle, and other useful construction activities; at the same time the home economics courses stressed the activities appropriate to the farm home, including gardening, care and preservation of vegetables, meats, and fruits through canning, freezing, and other devices.

Another school in a small town community recognized that its curricular responsibility carried over into the needs of boys and girls during the traditional summer vacation months. The community was induced to cooperate financially with the school to provide a summer recreation program for the children and unemployed youth. After a successful summer program had been carried out, the town (by charter amendment) provided the funds to be used for a permanent summer program of supervised recreational activities under the control and supervision of the school.

Possibly the classic example of the way the curriculum can be related to community needs is the story of the Holtville High School located in a small, poor, run-down rural community near Montgomery, Alabama. It represents a story of a community-

two students terraced over 5,000 acres of land in the community.

The students interested themselves in horticulture planting over 65,000 trees partly to prevent erosion, and planted 50,000 peach trees for farmers which they sprayed, and pruned.

Among many other activities of this nature, the students set up woodwork and machine shops, a beauty parlor, a local newspaper, and provided a Saturday evening movie, and newsreel entertainment. Another evening each week students, farmers and their families could come to the school to enjoy recreational facilities provided and managed by the students.

This is one of the more elaborate community school stories to be chronicled, therefore it is described in some detail. There are many records of schools where the curriculum sensitized to the needs of youth and the community, under adventurous school leadership and with the cooperation of the community have done much to upgrade the level of community living and have provided a vital functional education for the community's children.[8]

While the community school definitely relates the school curriculum to the practical needs of youth who will continue to live in the local environment, it must also safeguard these young people against provincialism by consciously developing a curriculum to provide a cosmopolitan outlook upon world affairs and a sense of world mindedness in an age in which the world is becoming increasingly interdependent. Too, such a community school must reflect in its curriculum the future vocational and social needs of those young people who must find their adult life cast in urban communities. The smaller and more agricultural the community, the larger the proportion of its youth who must find a livelihood in larger and more industrialized centers.[9] In the rural community probably as many as 50 per cent of its youth must anticipate making their living in a larger community.

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[8] For a more detailed description of the Holtville School see *The Story of Holtville: A Southern Association Study School,* Nashville, Tenn.: Cullum and Ghertner Company, 1944; also briefly described in *The Rotarian,* 67:17-18, May, 1946; and in *Reader's Digest,* 48.64-68, June, 1946. Note also the discussion of this project in our Chap. XII.

[9] This problem has been discussed in more detail elsewhere in the book. Attention is again called to the consideration of this problem in *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look,* Chap. 4, "Farmville Community School," Washington Educational Policies Commission, N.E.A., 1952.

How provide curriculum facilities for community adult learning? There has been a growing conviction that school buildings with their elaborate equipment, which represent major community investments, should not remain closed to public use after school is out at mid-afternoon. Mounting adult interest in self-improvement opportunities has resulted in a demand that the schools be kept open for their use and that of postgraduate adolescents.

Cautiously at first, many schools opened their doors to select adult groups for public forums, lectures, or study groups. Often these groups provided their own leaders and paid an amount sufficient to cover extra costs for light, heat, and janitorial service. Community-minded schools now provide the building and its services free at district expense, assume general supervisory responsibilities, provide most or all of the instructional staff, and take co-operative responsibility for the planning of the adult program to be offered. See page 412 for a typical outline of community adult programs to be found in our larger community schools.

The number of community schools which are open somewhat continuously from 8:30 A.M. until 10:00 P.M. is increasing rapidly. One session devoted to age groups from kindergarten to the 12th or 14th grade normally closes at 4:00 P.M. At that time a second session begins giving major attention to postgraduate adolescents and adults, composed largely of a new teaching staff, with some interested students continuing from the first session.

The second session is more flexible in program and attendance, and its offerings are planned primarily to meet varied adult needs. The unemployed or those whose employment schedules make possible afternoon attendance may attend classes or activities of their choice at that time, or continue on through the evening sessions. For those free for the evening extensive offerings in courses, forums, lectures or individual projects are available. Many who find their vocational training inadequate often can make up their deficiencies or follow new lines of vocational interest, if equipment and instructors are available. Large numbers are concerned with hobby or avocational skills. Some desire to broaden their cultural backgrounds, while some wish to join others under competent leadership to consider the pros and cons of contemporary socio-economic-political issues of local, national, or international importance.

These programs represent the school- and community-conscious

BRYANT COMMUNITY CENTER

Bryant Junior High School
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Winter Program
Adult Evening Classes and Activities

Activities MONDAY	Activities TUESDAY	Activities WEDNESDAY	Activities THURSDAY	Activities FRIDAY
Arts and Crafts	Bridge (beginning)	Bridge (beginning)	Ceramics	Millinery, Straws
Cake Decorating	Cake Decorating	Draperies and Lamp Shades	Jewelry and Artmetal	Home Upholstering
Furniture Refinishing	Community Orchestra	Drawing and Oil Painting	Leathercraft	Square Dancing
Fly Tying	Home Interior Decorating	Driver Training	Peasant Painting	9th Grade Dances
Knitting and Needlecraft	Home Upholstering	Furniture Refinishing	Photography	Swimming, Girl Scouts
Men's Gym and Swim Class	Peasant Painting	Home Upholstering	Public Speaking	Archery
Millinery	Rug Hooking and Braiding	Knitting and Needlecraft	Sewing (beginning)	
Upholstering	Sewing (advanced)	Millinery, Straws	Slip Covers	
Woodworking	Spanish, Conversational	Party Foods	Tailoring	
Sewing (beginning)	Typing for Personal Use	Sewing (beginning)	Home Upholstering	
Swimming, H.S. Boys	Woodworking	Tailoring	Woodworking	
Swimming, Girl Scouts	Swimming, H.S. Girls	Swimming, Water Ballet	Women's Gym and Swim Class	
Chorus	Swimming, Girl Scouts	Woodworking	Swimming, Girl Scouts	
Archery	Archery (beginners)	Swimming, Girl Scouts	Swimming, Boy Scouts	
	Athletic Group	Athletic Groups		

of their mutual interrelatedness, for the school an awareness of its service responsibility to the entire community, and for the community its vital stake in the service opportunity afforded it by the school. Each year more schools are opening their facilities to the community and expanding the opportunities offered.

How provide trained leadership to the community? The writer recalls a visit to a prosperous, alert community somewhat secluded *in a valley back in the mountains some 30 miles from a railroad.* In response to an expression of surprise at the evidence of prosperity and modernity of the community, a native offered the explanation that it was due largely to the influence of "the Professor." He spoke with obvious respect and affection for their school superintendent. It developed that this schoolman had come to that community some twenty or more years before, where he had literally invested his life not just in managing a school, but in the larger service of the community as well.

He had not only developed a school the curriculum of which was sensitive to the needs of the youth of that community; he had made the school the center for the study of community problems, its cultural and economic upgrading, and had identified himself with the interests of the community. Many of these areas of influence upon the community were pointed out to the visitor. The older residents recognized clearly that the greatest single force in making the community what it had become was "the Professor."

This story could be repeated often in many communities where school leaders with intelligence, vision, and devotion have not just "kept school" but have made the school and themselves the sources of dynamic community leadership. The growing recognition of the important function of the chief school officer in community leadership has been expressed recently in a document of The American Association of School Administrators thus:

Out of these studies has come *a new description of the successful school administrator,* competent in establishing an educational program that relates effectively to all other phases of community life. Some have described the job as "social engineering." [10]

[10] *Three Years of Progress in the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration.* Washington: The American Association of School Administrators, N.E.A., 1954. p. 29.

The potential leadership of the school is not restricted to the superintendent; it includes all members of the school staff. It is less true each year, but in the average small community, at least, the school staff comprises the major body of college trained people in the community. In any community it offers a significant potential source of leadership capacity. A well balanced faculty has within it a wide range of specialized training and offers a potential of diversified leadership possibilities. For the conduct of many phases of the types of community programs discussed in the previous section the teachers, principals, and technical specialists provide the school's available contribution to needed community leadership.

In addition to the direct leadership which the school personnel may bring to the community there is an important indirect leadership which the school can provide. Within the diversified specializations of the staff membership there is a wealth of reference resource information available when speakers and leaders for special meetings, forums, study groups, and entertainments for community groups are desired. For many communities the school is the major, if not the only, impartial agency to whom interested groups can appeal for advice and suggestion when leadership other than the school personnel is wanted.

Should the school integrate public non-school educational facilities? This is a question that has forced its way into prominence as the community school idea has become popular, and the concept of learning through experience has been more fully studied and accepted. The acceptance of the fact that learning is a continuous process no longer confined to the schoolroom, as was pointed out previously, has focused attention upon the entire community as the child's real learning environment.

An obvious question has arisen as to the desirability of community library services being closely interrelated with the school program. It has become customary in many communities to have branch libraries located adjacent to schools where they may supplement the school library. Some communities have established the branch library inside the school thus combining the school and community library services. In some places the city library and its branches are placed under the control of the Board of Education so that all library services for children and adults are directed by education-

ally trained personnel and can thus be *integrated to serve the community in maximum degree and in harmony with sound uniform educational principles.*

In the same way the theory and practices applied to publicly supported libraries are being extended to traditionally non-school publicly supported play grounds and recreational centers. Control of these is passing to the boards of education where community schools are being developed.

In one of its early pronouncements the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association advocated the merging of control of all community supported services involving schools, libraries, and recreation into one over-all public education authority. It contended that too often these community services represented duplication of services, conflicts in authority, and in too many instances services were not well distributed within the community. In addition to the fact that at times qualifications of personnel were not of uniform standard, there resulted the usual inefficient coordination and use of these services with the school, because the school was not in position to know what services were available and when.[11]

The *Educational Policies Commission in this same pronouncement* suggested the closest coordination, but not physical unification, of all public health and clinical services in the community *with the* school. This on the assumption that these services basically possessed many important educational functions and possibilities.

There have been many community school efforts to bring these and other phases of related public educational services into some common integrated pattern. One of the early attempts to achieve the ideal set forth by the Educational Policies Commission as out-

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[11] For an extended discussion of this issue, see *Social Services and the Schools* entire. Note particularly the graphing of problem involved in present separately controlled agencies and the recommended unification of services (p. 26). In Appendix A, brief descriptions are presented of efforts within six communities to coordinate and integrate these respective public services. Washington: Educational Policies Commission, N.E.A., 1939. In this connection the reader will find an interesting discussion of the problem of community service planning around the secondary school in the article by G. Robert Koopman, "A New Theoretical Approach to Secondary School Planning," pp. 40-47, in *The Nation's Schools*, December, 1953; and the symposium replies, "Reactions from the Field on G. R. Koopman's Approach to Secondary School Planning," pp. 66-69, *The Nation's Schools*, January, 1954.

lined above was developed in the 1930's in the community school organization program at Norris, Tennessee.

In a very real sense this small town developed a community school. It was open all day until 9 P.M. The superintendent of the school served also as town manager. The school and community libraries were located in the school plant under the direction of the same personnel. It was used by pupils and adults together throughout the day and evening. The same was true of the school workshop. There was an integration of school-community recreational activities. The physical education instructor for boys in the high school was also the community recreational director. The physical education instructor for girls served also as the health teacher and as community health worker. The other activities and facilities of the school were open to the community.[12]

How improve intergroup relationships? Although much has been done to amalgamate the racial-cultural groups that make up our American heritage, we still have large population blocks of racial strains that have congregated in definite areas, particularly in our cities, and have tended to maintain islands of old-world cultures. Unfortunate tensions between races and between the elders and their children who seek freedom from the old-world cultural customs exist. Often these racial tensions are heightened by sharp creedal differences that characterize some of these racial groups.

While it has been an American boast that socio-economic class and caste do not exist in this land dedicated to the equality of all men, few informed would deny that in reality these exist though not overtly admitted.[13]

A community school by its very nature would be committed to bringing these groups into a closer harmonious relationship, all working together for the common good. There are many ways in which this might be accented. All the suggestions previously made in relation to the community school would contribute to this end.

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[12] For a more detailed description of this early community school experiment see Harold Spears, *The Emerging High-School Curriculum*, Chap. 9, "The Norris Community Program." New York. American Book Company, 1940.

[13] This has been discussed in more detail elsewhere in this book. To the sources previously referred to attention is here called to Lloyd and Elaine Cook, *Intergroup Education*, New York. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954. Ways and means are discussed by which a community-conscious school could do much to improve intergroup relationships.

A visitor to a fifth-grade class was intrigued by a chart the teacher had placed on the blackboard which indicated the major parental nationalities of the children. On this day as a result of home inquiries the children were attempting to discover how nationally and racially interrelated each was. Some reported that they could trace their ancestry back two or more generations to one country. Most of them discovered they were of mixed blood, characteristic of most third and fourth generation Americans. The class represented something of a polyglot group. The pupils had been asked to bring to class family treasures and heirlooms parents were willing to have displayed. These were examined and the contributions of each culture to art and beauty were discussed. Class members volunteered to find out from their parents interesting customs of their native countries or those of their grandparents. In a few instances some parents or grandparents born in other countries were able to come to class and tell about the customs of their homelands.

Community schools can do much to further intergroup relations by focusing attention from time to time upon the older history and contemporary life of nationality or racial groups represented in the community, their literature, art, music, customs, and contributions to civilization. The real and the contemporary in national life and customs need to be stressed instead of the traditional and unreal in contemporary life. Attempts to find the common denominator, however, in the lives of national-racial groups is likely to be more productive of overcoming prejudices between peoples. Anthropological studies in school and in adult groups where these tensions exist should be sponsored by the community school.

However, the uniting of these groups in a common cause that involves the welfare of the children and youth of the community or some other community project without respect to race, creed, or economic-social status is likely to be more productive of overcoming prejudices between groups.

Questions and Problems

1. How would you define a "community"?
2. a. How would you define a "community school"?
   b. What would you say were the essential characteristics of a community school?
3. In what ways does a community become involved in the educative process in a modern school?

4. Explain why a school based upon a traditional conception of education and one based upon modern conceptions of education would be different in their relations to the community. In what ways would these differences be in evidence?

5. In what ways do community schools serve the whole community?

6. In what ways does a community share cooperative responsibility with the school administration and staff in a community school?

7. a. How can a community school improve living conditions in the community?

     b. From sources other than the text describe in some detail how schools have helped improve community living.

8. In what ways can the school relate the curriculum to community needs?

9. Have class reports, a symposium, or a panel discussion on the ways most schools could adjust their curriculums to community needs.

10. Have the class collect specific examples of adult educational programs carried on in schools they have attended or of which they have knowledge.

11. How could a school be organized to provide a community type program in which the school facilities would be available from 8:30 A.M. to 9 P.M. each school day?

12. Have a debate or a panel discussion on the proposition that all publicly supported educational or recreational activities of a community should be controlled by the school.

13. Show how the community school can improve intergroup understanding?

14. What special qualifications and training do you think a school staff should have to function effectively in a community school?

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And So They Live. 25 min. New York University Film Service, 1940.
   Shows life in the home, school, and the community in a southern community where the school curriculum was unrelated to the needs of the community.

Children Must Learn. 13 min. New York University Film Service, 1940.
   Portrays the life of a poor rural family, and suggests the part the schools have had and can have in improving their living conditions.

Community Resources in Teaching. 20 min. University of Iowa, 1950.
   Graphically portrays how school and community working together through use of the community resources by the students, and the school resources by the community can develop a vital educational program for all ages.

Lambertville Story. 20 min. Teaching Film Custodians, 1949.
   Shows how a teen-age recreation center was developed through cooperative community activity.

Learning Democracy Thru School Community Projects. B-W or Color, 20 min. Locke Films, 1947.
   Shows how elementary and high school pupils participate in student councils, clean-up campaign, Parent-Teacher-Student Association, community council meeting and other cooperative activities.

Learning Through Cooperative Planning. 20 min. Teachers College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1948.

An example of an experience in cooperative planning in a project of interest to both the children and the community.

Lessons in Living. 11 min. Brandon, 1945.
Shows the transformation that takes place in school and community as a result of initial cooperative activity on the part of parents and children.

Make Way for Youth. 22 min. Associated Films, 1947.
Shows how a youth council and recreational committee attack the problem of prejudice and misunderstanding in a community.

Near Home. 25 min. International Film Bureau, 1946.
A British film in which teacher and class study their community.

Our Community. 12 min. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, 1952.
Illustrates the many industries and public services of an American community thru the every day life of a ten-year-old boy.

Playtown, U.S.A. 23 min. Associated Films, 1946.
Shows how a community can provide for a year-round, all-age recreation program.

School and the Community. 14 min. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952.
Shows benefits which accrue to both school and community when they cooperate in promoting the welfare of the community.

School in Centerville. B-W or Color. 20 min., 1950.
Demonstrates how education in rural schools can be related to the problems of learning to live in the community.

The Fight for Better Schools. 20 min. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950.
Shows how interested citizens of Arlington County, Virginia, through cooperative effort were able to effect legislation and improve the public schools. Describes similar efforts in other places.

The School That Learned to Eat. Color. 22 min. General Mills, 1948.
Through cooperation of the school with the home and community workers show how community health conditions were improved.

U.S. Community and Its Citizens. 20 min. United World Films, 1945.
Shows how a community survey was made by school children in Milford, Connecticut.

CHAPTER XVII

What Are Possible Limiting Factors in the Development of the Ideal School Program?

How do inadequate plant facilities limit the program? At the Century of Progress Exposition, held in Chicago in 1933, a Washington artist nineteen years old and just graduated from high school exhibited three large paintings representing education yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The little red school house, of course, typified the poverty of school plant facilities of Yesterday. Unfortunately, that picture is representative still of a large per cent of the school plants now in use. The school of Today depicted a single school plant of our better conventional type to be found in most larger communities, capable of limited ministration to the needs of children and adults. The third mural, drawing upon the imagination, of our school of Tomorrow shows children and parents thronging to a large modernistic Civic Center, which houses the school, theater, gymnasium, library, concert and dance halls, as well as other plant facilities.

These murals dramatize the contrast between the inadequacy of our plant facilities for the kind of a program contemplated in modern secondary education. The old conception of secondary education based upon an academic curriculum in preparation for successful entrance to college needed little in plant facilities other than a building with enough room space to seat the student body.

A verbal type education based largely upon the mastery of text-book content required a minimum of plant facilities.[1]

Unfortunately, the longevity of the physical school plant is entirely out of keeping with the tempo of change in educational needs. As a result, the demands of a modern program of education are very often stymied by functionally obsolete building facilities which are still judged by the community as in too good a condition to be scrapped. Because of lack of community and of local educational leadership vision of what ought to be, building facilities are often unsuited to recognized needs. Modern secondary education, servicing in many communities upwards of 90 per cent of the youth, must have extensive plant facilities to provide for the different types of educational opportunities the needed program anticipates. Desirable homemaking activities for girls cannot be provided in the typical school building as now constructed. The same must be said for preparation for vocational education where extensive shop facilities are required. The demands for education no longer based on textbooks *per se*, but upon the use of large libraries, must have building facilities equal to, if not better than, the libraries of a fair-sized community. To overcome this difficulty, which is inherent in most school buildings, some larger cities are providing branch libraries often located across the street from large secondary schools, or, are housing these branch libraries where possible within the school building. The emphasis upon health in modern education demands suites of rooms for medical, dental, and nursing services; and activities involve the need of art laboratories, music rooms, recreational facilities, auditoriums, and various other rooms. The more the program of the school becomes identified with the community, the greater are the demands of the adults and older out-of-school youth for building facilities adequate to their needs.

It is quite clear that the general lack of building facilities to meet a modern program of secondary education must seriously limit the development of a thoroughgoing secondary school program in the majority of our school communities. *At the present moment it is*

[1] For a stimulating discussion of this and related problems see G. Robert Koopman, "A New Theoretical Approach to Secondary School Planning," pp. 50–57, *The Nation's Schools*, December, 1953; and the symposium replies, "Reactions From the Field on G. R. Koopman's Approach to Secondary School Planning," pp. 66–69, *The Nation's Schools*, January, 1954.

one of the crucial problems faced by wide awake school faculties. Until adequate school plant facilities are made possible, we must delay the realization of even an approximation of the desirable goals of secondary education now generally advocated.

How do inadequate materials and equipment limit the program? All that has been said of the limitations of building facilities applies with even greater force to inadequate materials and equipment. There are too many schools with inadequate plants where the educational problem is restricted even further because the school does not possess the materials and equipment to carry forward the kind of a program possible with building facilities at hand. Much more enriched and elaborate programs could be carried on in the average school plant if materials and equipment that could be adapted to such plants were made available. Most schools, even where the buildings are reasonably commodious, still have desk seating fixed to the floor and arranged in rigid rows facing the front of the room. This type of seating is suited only to the antiquated conception of education that glorified the lesson recitation or the mind-stuffing lecture. Problem-solving study situations where youths gather around tables, singly or in less formal groups, to analyze problems, plan their attack upon these problems, and, within the limits of the nature of these problems, attempt a solution of them in the classroom-library situation, could be greatly facilitated if proper chairs and tables or at least movable desks were substituted for the fixed desks of an out-moded educational era. The same may be said for library and other materials needed to carry through a modern educational program. Just recently a high school teacher, anxious to utilize the newer educational approach in her core classes, pointed somewhat despairingly to her classroom and exclaimed: "How can I apply the newer ideas of education in my classes with these old desk seats and very little reference material in the library?" With appropriate movable tables in place of fixed desks, doubling, and sometimes trebling, the library reference sources, and use of materials useful in classroom problem-solving situations, most schools could do much to overcome the handicaps of poor plant facilities.

There are many kinds of equipment and materials that would reduce materially the limitations upon the educational programs in most schools. The use of radios, visual-aid materials of all sorts,

public address systems, duplicating machines of different kinds in sufficient quantities to make them easily available to teachers, files for classrooms, and other miscellany are the kinds of general equipment and materials every secondary school can provide. In such special areas as art most schools are poorly supplied with adequate materials for the creative activities of pupils; in music the limitation so often felt, in the small schools particularly, is the lack of musical instruments; in business education, as indicative of all vocational work, the lack of enough up-to-date machines of all varieties used in business offices is a serious handicap to a program designed to send efficient youth into business positions. The same unnecessary limitations exist in other areas such as science, health, and recreation. Too many communities think of education as it existed in a by-gone age. They do not realize the handicaps lack of proper equipment bring to a modernly conceived secondary school program nor how much these would overcome many limitations imposed by an inadequate school plant.

In what way does insufficient financial support affect the school program? The evils of inadequate school plants and equipment in large measure spring from a root cause—lack of school finances to build physical school plants and provide proper equipment. It is estimated that to carry through the secondary school program on the scale envisioned in *Education for All American Youth* would require at least double and probably treble the amount of money now spent on education. It is obvious that plant facilities cannot be adequately developed without a decided increase in the financial support of education.

Lack of money also affects the adequacy of the school personnel to carry forward enriched school opportunities for youth and adults. The old academic curriculum required a minimum of teaching personnel. The further the school program diverges from this minimum, the more personnel is needed, the better and more specialized the staff must be, and the less mass education can be carried on. Consequently the costs of education rise precipitously.

Associated closely with the limitations placed upon the adequacy of school personnel by insufficient finances is the effect upon school services that results from inadequate financial support. During the depression of the thirties and during World War II many schools cut off special services not yet completely recognized as an integral

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part of the educational program. Free or minimum cost lunches, medical and nursing services, bus transportation services, easy access by pupil or adult groups to the use of the school plant and equipment were frequently eliminated entirely or greatly reduced. Summer recreational programs and other usual summer activities were curtailed. This is symptomatic of the causes for the absence of many services advocated by educators. When the Educational Policies Commission recommends that all public library and recreational services of the community be controlled and supported by the same officials that manage the schools, they are suggesting a type of service for which finances are not now available.[2]

The growing demand for a twelve-month school, the introduction of the nursery and the kindergarten, the extension of education through the thirteenth and fourteenth school years, and the demand for educational services to out-of-school youth and adults—all are limited or completely prohibited at present because of lack of money. The key to much of the limitation placed on educational programs lies in inadequate finances for education in the richest nation of the world.

How is the school program conditioned by traditional patterns of the curriculum? It must never be forgotten that the traditional secondary school curriculum has been academic in character: it has emphasized the values of antiquity; it has shown little concern for the world of the present. As a result, the traditional curriculum has stressed the ancient classics of literature and language, the history of older cultures, particularly of western and southern Europe, and formal rhetoric. Little attention was given to mathematics until the changes in secondary education after 1800. It is said that the students of Harvard University in the colonial period were so lacking in simple arithmetical skills that it was with difficulty that many could locate a particular place in a book through its page number. Such a curriculum could in no sense provide the kind of education we are concerned with in secondary education today. Because of the reactionary forces that have dominated the curriculum of the secondary schools in America until recent years, there is still a strong preference for the academic curriculum on

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[2] Educational Policies Commission, *Social Services and the Schools.* Washington: National Education Association, 1939.

the part of many. Such a curriculum has been limited to those preparing for college or those capable of grappling with ideas cast mainly in a verbal setting—the so-called "abstract-minded." Large numbers of students find it difficult to get much profit out of a curriculum so highly abstract and so unrelated to the problems of the contemporary world in which they live. The traditional curriculum is recognized as unsuited to the needs of youths going directly into some form of occupational activity from the secondary school. More than that, recent studies cast grave suspicion upon the traditional curriculum as the most effective means of preparing youth for college. The evidence to date supports the broader curriculum pattern even for college preparation.

Another limitation imposed upon the school program by the adherence to the traditional curriculum is the definite tendency of the supporters of this curriculum to discourage the development of more practical or enlarged curriculum offerings. The extreme emphasis upon the cultural or mental discipline values that are claimed for the traditional curriculum places upon more practical curriculum offerings the odium of inferiority, low-brow, or just plain having little or no educational value. Under such unfavorable circumstances in some schools the classical curriculum offerings are chosen by youths unfitted for these courses while the more valuable general vocational and semi-vocational courses remain poorly supported. Students who cannot carry successfully the academic curriculum or become discouraged because they do not see practical values in what they are doing drop out of school. The effect of the traditional curriculum upon the secondary school is to make the education of youth the privilege of the few; a violation of the democratic ideal of education for all.

Another very practical limitation that the traditional curriculum places upon the efforts to provide a modern program of education is the incompatibility of the traditional versus the modern approach to education; "oil and water will not mix." It is virtually impossible to combine a traditional curriculum and a modern curriculum; the two are mutually exclusive. They have different underlying purposes and are based upon contradictory principles of learning. The theory of learning as mind storage or mental discipline cannot be reconciled with a conception of learning as "changing behavior through experience." Maleducation must be the result when pupils

are exposed to both types of curriculum programs simultaneously. The use of the traditional curriculum is a most effective block against the development of a modern program of secondary education.

What limitations may be imposed on the school program by its professional personnel? There is an old aphorism to the effect that water can rise no higher than its source. This is particularly apropos when applied to the relationship that exists between the school administrative-teaching personnel and the success of the school program. In spite of the fears of some teachers that newer instructional devices such as sound movies, the radio, and television would make teachers needless appendages of the school, they are still essential. In fact, modern educational developments, both in our knowledge of the learning process and in the program of education now proposed, have made the teaching personnel of the school more indispensable than ever. By the same token, the school personnel can become a major asset to a forward-looking school program or a crippling limitation upon it.

Far and away the most important source of handicap or asset to a school program is the educational point of view of the administrative leaders and the teachers. So many schools are still conducting outworn traditional school programs or grudgingly accepting slight modifications because the educational thinking of the school leadership is at least a quarter of a century out of date. Although the teacher remains the key personnel factor in the actual teaching situation, a school either goes forward or remains tied to the past depending largely upon the vision and leadership, or lack of both, on the part of the administrative personnel. It is true that no administrator can inaugurate a modern educational program by administrative order. The very genius of democratic education is that of voluntary cooperation–leadership through consent. On the other hand, unless the administrative leadership of a school provides unequivocal enthusiasm and support for an educational program that is democratically conceived and cooperatively achieved there will be no such program in that school. This will be true no matter how eager the staff is to take advance ground educationally. One of the principal sources of limitation on a progressive secondary education program in America today is laid squarely at the door of our school administrators.

once boasted with obvious pride that he knew at any time of the day just what was going on in any part of his school system, or the teacher who insisted with equal pride that no pupil in her class would consider for a moment even whispering unless he first raised his hand and received her permission. This type of routine worship has no place in modern programs of education where the give and take of teacher-pupil cooperatively planned activities assumes a natural environmental situation where freedom of movement and freedom of speaking in the sharing of a common task are the vogue. Changes of plans and schedules of work are considered a logical outcome of vital, meaningful learning situations. "Stuffed shirt" administrators and teachers could never understand or be happy in this kind of an educational situation. Where their wills are dominant, only traditional education is possible. Nor should the handicap of lazy or vested-interest teachers be overlooked. There are teachers completely satisfied with things as they are. They have developed a *modus operandi*, so temptingly possible to such a teacher under the old traditional scheme of education, by which their job has been reduced to a routine minimum of work. They do not see the challenge in the newer educational approach and do not want to be disturbed from their routines. Then there are administrators and teachers who feel secure in their present practices: the administrator who lacks confidence in his abilities to utilize new and strange administrative techniques but feels sure of his traditional methods; and the teacher who is a subject-matter specialist and confident of her ability to handle the traditional but unwilling to begin preparation to meet the demands of the new type of education and uncertain of her ability to make such a radical adjustment in her teaching often become powerful belligerent blocks to the adoption of advanced programs of secondary education.

In what way may community attitudes and cultural levels restrict the school program? It is the ideal of the newer concept of education that the secondary school program should give particular attention to the development of critical thinking on the part of youth. The peculiar needs of a democracy require men and women capable of evaluating the worth of existing practices in terms of their effectiveness in reaching clearly recognized goals. Even the more specific goals themselves are not considered immune from occasional appraisal in terms of the larger inclusive ideals of democ-

racy. Basically this means that the most cherished practices and institutions of the community may not be exempt from careful scrutiny. It is the only way by which youth can come to understand and appreciate the values that inhere in the institutions and patterns of life of the community. It is at the same time the only way society can be assured that its way of life will be kept streamlined to serve individual and group interests best.

This ideal has not as yet been accepted by all. Minorities, and even majorities in some communities, deny this as a right or function of the school. Those communities where any considerable portion of the population believe the school must teach uncritically the existing patterns of thinking of that group will limit the activities of the school. The prevailing attitudes, beliefs, or practices of the community may be critically discussed, if at all, with great caution. Community prejudices are most likely to be stirred in the areas of politics, religion, and social practices. The restrictions placed upon the Washington, D.C. schools some years ago forbidding the mention of Russia in the classroom is a case in point. Here local prejudice against Russia led to an order to the schools that caused Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to suggest that the teachers were in the ridiculous position, in teaching the geography of Europe and Asia, of only being able to point to the space on the map that is Russia and warn the children that that part of the map they would not discuss. Some recall even yet the famous Scopes trial in Tennessee where, by court decree, teachers were denied the right to consider the subject of evolution from a scientific point of view. The need to secure freedom from community restriction upon the right of the school to consider critically every phase of democratic social living is essential to the effectiveness of the newer school program.

Communities are always sensitive to their cherished *mores* and deep-seated prejudices. There are other aspects of community attitudes that prevent the development of newer educational ideas and practices. In this category may be suggested the idealization of the old traditional high school curriculum. No school attempting a reorganization of its original curriculum can wisely ignore the attitudes of loyalty to the old on the part of many adults. It is the curriculum which they studied in high school. Whether they realized it or not, they were sold on its value to them then, and they

remain convinced of the contribution it made to their lives. Although they may never have read anything of Browning or Shakespeare since school days and can recall nothing of these authors now, they insist that their children should study these same authors. They may have only the vaguest notion of any part of ancient history or of Latin but they want their children to study these same subjects. They insist on living in a streamlined world of their daily life but frown upon any effort of education to get its curriculum out of the ox-cart era. These sentiments are strong barriers to educational progress.

Further, the general cultural level of the community, if it is low, may seriously limit the local secondary school program. Peculiarly enough, the less educated the adults of the community the more conservative they tend to be. Sensitive to possible disparagement of their equal rights with others, they may add to this natural conservatism an insistence that their children study the same things in school studied by the sons and daughters of the economic privileged of that community. Again, the idea that the school personnel should receive a remuneration in excess of the rank and file salary of the community is likely to be frowned upon. Competent teachers necessary to the success of the newer educational programs are thus unavailable. Coupled with this the probable low economic level of such a community will make adequate school financing improbable.

Whatever handicaps the schools in the development of a realistic program of secondary education must ultimately find its cause in the attitudes of the community toward education. It has been said that when you touch a man's pocketbook, you touch his tenderest spot. That is simply to say that money is the acid test of his attitudes—his values of living. In 1950 less than 2 per cent of the national income was spent on public education, yet education is the nation's big business. In spite of lip service to education, the general public basically is not sold on the expanded secondary education program considered highly desirable, even imperative, if the democratic way of life in America is to be fully realized. Until it is possible for the American people to believe that education is more important than almost anything else for which they spend money, there must remain a serious lag in educational progress. If the community is provincial in its outlook, the natural tendency will be for

it to oppose efforts to enlarge the scope of educational activities to include other communities.

How may "pressure groups" influence the school program? The public school is beset by many forces that would gladly determine in part or in whole the nature of its program. Some of these "pressure groups" are well meaning, and the things they seek to add to the program of the school on the whole are beneficial. Of such a type is the National Education Association and its affiliate national and state organizations. The present efforts of the N.E.A. to secure federal aid for education would go far to make possible the extended program of the secondary school now advocated by modern educators. The advocacy by both national and state educational organizations for better qualified teachers and higher salary levels, if attained, would go far to make possible the quality of education outlined in this book. A state-wide vote of teachers was recently taken under the sponsorship of the Minnesota Education Association, to determine whether the teachers of the state would resign *en masse* unless a minimum salary schedule adopted previously by a representative group of teachers, under the leadership of the Minnesota Education Association, was put into effect throughout Minnesota. The work of the various vocational organizations has opened the way for federal support of an elaborate program of vocational education in the several states. There are numerous groups of semiofficial educational organizations that have done yeoman's service in advancing the cause of education.

There are other organizations outside the professional sphere that have exercised powerful influences both for and against the program of the school, and consequently for and against the public welfare. It is generally acknowledged that the Prohibition cause was to a very large extent advanced and the eighteenth amendment put over by the "pressure" influence upon the school curriculum of the W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League. These organizations exerted influence upon school boards, teachers, textbook companies, and public to insure the teaching at all grade levels of the harmful effects of alcohol and narcotics. These forces are still operative. Only recently, for example, the groups opposed to the use of alcohol and narcotics got a bill through the Minnesota State Legislature which requires all teacher training institutions of the

state to offer a course to prospective teachers on the evil effects of alcohol and narcotics.

The Scopes trial in Tennessee in the early twenties over the question of the right of the high school to teach the theory of evolution was representative of "pressure groups" closely identified with community attitudes. Religious groups have very profoundly affected the pattern of education in America. Dancing in the high schools has been prohibited for youths in many communities, because conservative religious groups have been able to crystallize public opinion in opposition to such activities in the school program. It was the conservative religious groups which actively opposed, and in many communities still do oppose, all consideration of the theory of evolution in the schools. Because of the attitudes of religious and nonreligious groups the consideration of religion in any form in the schools was prevented.

The Scopes trial and the policy of nonreligious instruction in the schools highlights another expression of "pressure group" restriction upon the school—restriction or imposition by legislative enactment. Religious sentiment has been so strong in Tennessee and a few other states that the teaching of evolution in secondary schools was prohibited by legislative enactment. The Tenth Amendment to the Constitution and specific legislation in some states have prevented religious instruction in the public schools. Other "pressure groups" have used legislation as a device to have certain subjects taught in the school. After World War I a wave of hysterical fear swept patriotic groups who had the mistaken notion that patriotism could be assured by a legislative requirement that secondary schools teach the Constitution of the United States. The resort to legislation by other "pressure groups," such as in health and physical education, has seriously jeopardized the possibility of developing a modern secondary school program with sufficient flexibility to meet adolescent needs and interests.

There are powerful business and political "pressure groups" that attempt to influence the programs of our secondary schools with activities that are both helpful and restrictive in nature. The efforts to acquaint youth with the nature of the business world today, the organization and processes of a large manufacturing activity, such as the production of rubber goods, cotton and silk textiles, steel, and automobiles, are greatly facilitated by the descriptive materials

prepared by large business concerns as well as by films of producing processes. These are valuable aids to the school. On the other hand, the efforts to control the teaching in the schools concerning the practices of big business in our country, as well as of other controversial issues, are a real threat to our democratic institutions and the freedom of the school to develop constructive critical thinking about our social institutions. The pressures the utility interests, for example, have used to prevent publishers from issuing textbooks that contained unfavorable facts, or discussions of the relative merits of public versus private operation of utilities is a dark chapter in American education. The employment or subsidization of textbook writers to produce secondary textbooks favorable to the utility interests, the extreme efforts employed by these groups to blackball textbooks containing materials unfavorable to them, the use of local community business groups to insure the adoption of the "right" textbooks in the schools, the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars in their efforts to control the teaching in secondary schools are serious threats to the ideals of secondary education. The record of these activities on the part of large utility corporations are abundantly documented.[8] An example of political pressure on the teaching in the schools is the notorious episode that took place in the administration of Mayor W. H. Thompson in Chicago in the late twenties. The lengthy School Board hearings on the teaching of history in the Chicago schools paralyzed morale and discouraged efforts to develop critical intelligence among youths in the schools. It was generally recognized that the entire disgraceful fiasco was a political device used by the Mayor to enhance his political fortunes with the voters of foreign extraction

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[8] Every secondary school worker should be familiar with the activities of these pressure groups as described and documented in Bessie Louise Pierce, *Citizens' Organization and the Civic Training of Youth*, Part III: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. The entire book treats of the activities of major "pressure groups." Chap. XXIII is devoted to the efforts of our public utilities to insure textbook materials favorable to them. A briefer discussion of this problem is given in Chap. XVIII of Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* Part III: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. American Historical Association. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. An extended discussion of the basic nature of this problem of pressure groups and its significance for educational, even social, progress is found on pp. 611-778 of this well documented book.

who disliked Great Britain. The school personnel and all public spirited citizens should be fully informed on the sinister activities of these "pressure groups." [4]

What attitudes may we take toward these restrictive factors upon the school program? There are many attitudes which can be taken toward these factors that appear to inhibit desirable school programs. Every experienced educator has encountered expressions of attitude that range from complete disgust to courageous determination: "What is the use? The school is constantly hamstrung in its program by people who have axes to grind and won't let the school staff carry on a real school program. I am going into something else where I can do what I think should be done without interference"; "What difference does it make? You haven't a chance to do a real educational job. No use wearing your heart out when you haven't the time, energy, or facilities to do what you know should be done. I am going to go along, try to earn my salary, and not worry"; "I may not be able to do all I know should be done but I will go ahead, do the best I can and maybe help to get some things across in spite of discouragements."

Unfortunately, it is characteristic of people to think that the circumstances surrounding their era of life are different from those of others. It is essential that the educational worker keep his sense of perspective as he faces the many obstacles to the realization of an ambitious, sometimes rather idealistic, secondary school program. The first important consideration that may help to keep perspective in the midst of handicaps is that the school is not alone in its apparent inability to achieve all its ambitious plans. All social institutions of similar kinds face approximately the same limitations. Seldom do they have the facilities they desire or actually need or the financial support to enable them to do all they may aspire to. Lack of competent personnel with vision and initiative is a chronic shortcoming, along with a lethargic public unwilling to provide moral support of the enterprise. Then there is, in every such group, the interference of well-wishers as well as those who are in opposition. It is at least comforting when we are aware that other worthwhile projects are confronted by the same type of hindrances.

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[4] For some of the contemporary but probably ephemeral obstacles which in places impose momentary blocks to educational advance reread Chap. I, and survey current books and articles highly critical of the schools.

It may prove more encouraging still to realize that the obstacles we face are not even peculiar to our day, but are hoary with age. It has become the fashion for many dispirited souls to look back to the "good old days" when "men were men," and selfishness, short-sightedness, and even corruption were practically nonexistent. A hasty but realistic rereading of a little history of human progress, particularly as it relates to education, may help the dispirited to see that the elements of discouragement in generations past were far more formidable than they are today. Yet, men of vision with almost insuperable obstacles confronting them succeeded in the realization of educational programs that today have become their enduring monuments.

Again, it may help us to meet our contemporary problems with better perspective and courage if we honestly recognize that, in our enthusiasm to advance the education of youth, we may be setting up an ideal or utopian program which experience should warn us may not be fully realized. It is of the nature of youth to be impatient of delay; goals should be quickly reached. Discouragement, disillusionment, and often cynicism follow the failure to reach these goals. "Rome was not built in a day"; social evolution is slow, sometimes painfully slow. It is necessary at times to stand off at a distance, look dispassionately at the total movement of educational progress, and see our program as it fits into that total movement. Only then is it possible to see the unmistakable evidence of our own progress as well as general progress. One must become philosophical at times about one's own efforts.

It may be even more important to the maintenance of a balanced perspective in the presence of the vexing and seemingly needless restrictions upon urgently needed advances in our program of secondary education to ascribe honesty and integrity of purpose to the human equations involved. Honest, even intelligent, people often disagree on issues that may not seem to us to have more than one side. It may be that those blocking our programs do not have the facts, or do not understand the facts. It is possible for people to have the same facts and understand their significance and still disagree. As educators we should be conversant with the psychological principles of learning which suggest that each set of facts, or each situation, is interpreted on the basis of the total background of the experiences of the individual. This should enable us to view

with some equanimity the lack of agreement that often exists between ourselves and others who honestly differ with us on the merits of our educational ideas and programs.

The intelligent educational worker will keep clearly in mind those considerations which should determine his fundamental attitudes toward the forces that appear to stymie his cherished educational programs. He will be aware that alertness and a relentless prosecution of every possible means to overcome obstructions are the only means by which cherished educational programs can be brought to fruition. At times a recasting of the framework of the program itself, even significant modifications of important aspects of the program, may be necessary to overcome obstacles. It is necessary to keep in mind another important factor in progress; namely, that of compromise. Compromise is an essential technique of the democratic process. Sometimes to achieve part of a program is more important than to strive for all and gain none. It is also well in this conjunction to remember the pertinent comment of the late H. G. Wells, "Civilization is in a race between catastrophe and education." Those who believe thoroughly in the education of youth in the principles of democratic living as a means of conserving our democratic institutions and enriching them must maintain an attitude of intelligent optimism and persistent cooperative effort to achieve the best possible program of secondary education for the youth of America.

Questions and Problems

1. Examine at least one school building and list what you consider to be the inadequacies of the school plant in terms of a modern educational program. Consider, also, the playground space around the building.
2. Draw a plan of a classroom with equipment arranged as you think best for carrying on a modern program in a modern classroom.
3. List several subjects that have had a long struggle to gain respectability in the traditional academic curriculum. What, in the long run, makes a subject "respectable"?
4. What must a teacher know today in order to be successful in comparison with the amount of knowledge about teaching that was necessary 25 years ago?
5. Just what is the difference, if any, between "teaching a pupil" and "teaching a subject"?
6. Search writings on education for lists of the qualities pupils will most admire in teachers.

7. Bring to class clippings from newspaper and magazine articles dealing with education. Classify the criticism made into several categories and examine critically the grounds upon which they rest.

8. Interview two or three teachers to discover what they like or dislike about teaching as a career. Try to find one teacher with, say, three years of experience and one with 15 or 20.

9. List as many instances as you can of where local or community prejudice has interfered with the free and full development of a modern school program.

10. Study the state and national recommendations of the Congress of Parents and Teachers to determine whether their groups are ahead of, abreast of, or lagging behind the schools.

11. Why do Americans, who insist upon the latest and most modern conveniences, often insist upon having their children taught just as they were taught 25 years before?

12. Present in class a panel discussion on Howard K. Beale's *Are American Teachers Free?* to get an understanding of the many pressure groups that operate in the field of public education.

13. If progress in education strikes you as very slow, read a few educational journals of 25 years ago. Notice the problems that occupied the minds of educators at that time.

14. List as many "signs of the times" as you can that really appear to hold forth possibilities for educational progress.

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Index